The Woman's Protest

AGAINST WOMAN SUFFRAGE

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SUFFRAGE PROMOTES NEITHER EFFICIENCY NOR DEMOCRACY

SUFFRAGISTS SEEK REVOLUTION

ASTONISHING DECREASE IN VOTE OF SUFFRAGE STATES

PROTEST AGAINST FEDERAL ACTION

"THE LARGER FEMINISM"

MRS. WARD'S WELFARE PLAN

POLITICS IN THE SCHOOLS

SOCIALISTS PRAISE SUFFRAGE "ALLIES"

REPORTS OF STATE ASSOCIATIONS

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We wish to make the subscription revenue meet the cost of publishing and if possible create an income in excess of current needs for the purpose of improvement, enlargement and wider influence.

Ninety-eight and four tenths per cent. of the first year's subscribers to the PROTEST renewed their subscriptions. This is the strongest confirmation that the PROTEST is a necessity.

We want 10,000 more subscribers by July first and to carry it through have organized this subscription competition. Each state is set a quota or definite number of subscriptions to produce, based on the total membership of each state organization.

Each month beginning with May and ending in August, the PROTEST will print the total number of new subscriptions received from all sources in each of the organized states.

For the period of this campaign, April fifteenth to July fifteenth inclusive, we will rebate 25% on every ten yearly subscriptions sent in at one time by any individual or association; the amount so retained remains the property of the individual or association. (This reduction will not hold good on renewals of present subscriptions, and the full subscription rate of $1.00 should be paid by each subscriber.)

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Vol. IV. April, 1914 No. 6

The Woman's Protest invites letters from its readers.

MASSACHUSETTS SITUATION

The Massachusetts Association Opposed to the Further Extension of Suffrage to Women feels neither surprise nor gloom at the result of the vote in the Legislature on the question of submitting to the people a constitutional amendment granting the suffrage to women.

The position taken by the Democratic Party has been that this was a matter for the people rather than the Legislature to decide. As to the merits of this attitude, the Association does not wish to express an opinion. If, however, the people were to make their wishes known directly on this question it was anxious that the women of the State should have a voice in deciding whether or not they should exercise the franchise, for it seems only fair that those most concerned should be allowed a public expression of opinion and desire.

For this recognition of women's rights the Association labored, but the suffragists feared the result of such a referendum. The Legislature has taken the more conservative course of submitting the matter only to the voters of the State, and though this Association regrets their action it feels no fear for the result.

HEARINGS BEFORE TWO COMMITTEES OF THE HOUSE

The hearing before the House Judiciary Committee on March 4th was the result of the efforts of the three factions of suffragists who are using the machinery of the Government for advertising purposes.

The Committee was practically threatened by the suffrage speakers, but it is doubtful if these threats were taken seriously, as the suffragists failed to even agree among themselves in presenting their demands. The suffrage hearing occupied the entire morning and the afternoon was given over to the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge, President, presiding and introducing the speakers. Among the speakers introduced by Mrs. Dodge were Mrs. Henry White of the executive committee of the Massachusetts Association; Miss Alice Hill Chittenden, President of the New York State Association; Miss Minnie Bronson, Secretary National Association; Miss Marjorie Dorman, Secretary of the Women Wage Earners Anti-Suffrage League of New York; Mrs. O. D. Oliphant, General Secretary New Jersey Association, and Hon. John Matthews of Newark. The statements made by them appear on the pages following.

The third hearing on the question of a woman suffrage amendment was given to both sides by the House Committee on the election of President, Vice-President and Representatives in Congress on March 24th. The suffragists presented their side under the leadership of the Rev. Olympia Brown. The suffragists asked that the hearing be granted to them only, but the Committee invited the anti-suffragists to appear, stating that the women should have two hours divided into periods of fifteen minutes for each speaker. The District Association arranged the hearing and asked that speakers be sent from New York. Representative French of Idaho presented his bill and made a legal argument, claiming that sex had nothing to do with the qualifications for citizenship, and that the House can regulate the qualifications of voters for Congressmen. Following Mr. French's argument, Representative Shirley, Congressmen from Kentucky, and one of the best constitutional lawyers in Washington, told the Committee that he had argued in cases involving the right of the Federal Government to impose or force suffrage upon States, and brought from his legal memory a long array of famous old cases of the reconstruction days.

"It has been settled," said he, in opposition to suffrage, "that the right to vote comes from the States. The fifteenth amendment gave no new rights. It simply prevented the States from denying the right because of three things—race, color or previous condition of servitude." He also criticised attempts to pass laws without proper consideration of their constitutionality.

Miss Bronson and Miss Price were sent from New York to speak; Miss Bronson, by invitation of the District Association, being in charge of the hearing. At the close of Miss Bronson's speech the suffragists made the usual claim that since it had carried in the West, suffrage was a success. Miss Bronson said that suffrage had carried in the West largely through the Mormon Church. Mr. French denied that it was carried through the Mormon influence and said that he knew of only four Mormon families in Idaho. Miss Bronson gave the population of Idaho, 83,000, and asked how many people in that State voted on the question of Woman Suffrage. The answer was less than 50 per cent. Not nearly as many people voted on woman suffrage because they did not care about it and it was not on a separate bill. Miss Bronson answered that if less than 50 per cent. voted on the bill and there are 30 per cent. Mormons then the Mormon vote must have been solid.

Miss Price spoke effectively on feminist developments. "I have heard much about the emancipation of women," said Miss Price, "but I have not heard what it is that women are to be emancipated from. Is suffrage the best thing for this country? that is the question. In the States where only men vote the very things which women are most interested in are handled in the best manner by the State Legislatures. The particular laws which women want to see passed are passed in the States where women do not vote. It does not need women to get the best laws passed; it needs the arousing of public opinion, and women can form a part of public opinion very well without voting. The only suffragist who appeared before a certain State Legislature in regard to laws for the benefit of women, special rest-rooms for woman employees, wage regulations, etc., dealt wage-earning women a heavy blow. This woman said that suffragists do not want these 'special privileges' for women, but want women and men absolutely equal."

REPORT OF HEARING BEFORE THE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

WHO ARE THE ANTI-SUFFRAGISTS—AND WHY

STATEMENT OF MRS. HENRY WHITE

WE, of the Massachusetts Association Opposed to the Further Extension of Suffrage to Women, are not, as the Suffragists of our State would like to have you believe, a mere handful of women on whom fate has seen fit to bestow comfortable homes and sheltered existences, and who, as a result of not needing the ballot ourselves, are satisfied to play the part of stumbling-blocks in the social and economic career of our less fortunate sisters.

On the contrary, our Association is composed of more than 23,000 women of voting age or over, among whom you will find mothers, home-makers, women of property, professional women, as well as a very large number of wage-earning women representing all the various branches of industry. I can assure you, gentlemen, that these women have not gone to the trouble of organizing to oppose a measure which they merely do not want, but have organized for defense against a movement which they consider not only to be a grave danger to woman herself, but a positive menace to the State at large. After all, it is not a question of what women want, nor of what men want either, but it is a question of what will benefit the State at large, what will be for the best interests of the State at large. We Anti-Suffragists firmly believe, for reasons which you will hear later this afternoon, that the best interests of the States are served by keeping woman out of politics.

I overheard a Suffragist saying not long ago that one only found Anti-Suffragists about Boston, that one did not find Anti-Suffragists in any place except around Boston, that nowhere else were women opposing this movement. This remark was decidedly amusing in view of the real facts of the case. Our Association, which, as I have already said, numbers over 23,000 women, nearly 5,000 more than when we appeared before you about this time last year, is only one of seventeen associations. Our Association is constantly increasing in the number of its members, and we have had over 600 new members in this last month alone.

Our Association extends from the Berkshires to the tip of Cape Cod. We have eighty branches, which are thirty-nine more than we had at this time last year, and we have members in 384 cities and towns and villages, and never in our Association's history has it been so active as at this time. We are receiving constant calls and telephone communications from women who are deserting the ranks of the indifferent and hastening to join those of us who do not believe in the ballot for women.

Massachusetts is only one of fifteen States having active organizations opposed to woman suffrage. Those States are Connecticut, Iowa, Maryland, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont, Virginia, Wisconsin and the District of Columbia. Besides its strong organization, New York has a Wage Earners' League of 3,000 women. It was this league which sent a telegram to President Wilson at the time the 300 Suffragists were in Washington vainly trying to change his mind on this question.

Besides those States which I have mentioned, there is a national association whose officers are the presidents of the various State associations. It is often said why waste so much time and energy in opposing something which is bound to come, but we Anti-Suffragists know that where there is a strong opposition suffrage is not bound to come.

The circulation of our national paper, THE PROTEST, issued by the National Association, and the circulation of our own State paper, *The Remonstrance*, issued by the Massachusetts Association, and the constantly increasing demand for literature from all over the country show the strength of our cause. This increasing demand shows the increasing interest of the people of this country in this question, and particularly in our side of the question.

It was the opposition to suffrage that saved the situation in Michigan, Ohio and Wisconsin, and it is only in those States where there is not a strong anti-suffrage association that suffrage has gained.

Now, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the Committee, although we are opposing votes for women, we are firm believers in woman's rights, and we glory in the fact that all those wrongs which existed in 1848, and which the Suffragists of that time said could not be righted without the ballot, have been righted, and have been righted without the ballot. To-day woman has all her rights and there is nothing which stands in the way of her development except her own individual limitations, mental or physical.

The fact that the ballot alone of all these rights which the early Suffragists claimed for women has not been granted to her would go to prove the contention of the Anti-Suffragists that the enfranchisement of women is not a right, but an expediency and before the Suffragists can prove their case they must show that woman suffrage has gained remedial legislation in the States where women vote which has not been gained in man-suffrage States, and the women of my State have sent me here to tell you that they see nothing which would lead them to believe that it is expedient for Massachusetts to have suffrage for both men and women. They see no compensating gain for the loss of their non-partisan power. The women of our Association do not want to lose their non-partisan power.

I would like to tell you some of the things which they are doing along those lines.

Before I tell you what these things really are I wish to call your attention to some of the things which our Suffragist friends say we do and are. They say we are criminally indifferent to the welfare of women and children and the safety of girls. They say we are destructionists of the dignity of womanhood, of the real home, of justice and freedom. They say we are protectors of the liquor interests, food dopers, child labor exploiters, white slavers and political bosses. They say we are vultures looking for carrion.

They also say that the more active Antis "only serve the purpose that by holding out their skirts they act as screens for the liquor traffic, the gambler, the vicious and those interested in dance halls and places where young women are ruined."

Now, gentlemen, I can speak from personal knowledge of what the more active Antis in the Massachusetts Association are doing.

The President of our Association has been for many years on the State Board of Charity, was one of the first two women overseers of the poor ever elected in that State, and has been for many years one of the managers of a large public hospital.

One of the Vice-Presidents is a well-known educator and was for many years dean of a woman's college; another was president of the Woman's Educational Association and is now vice-president of the Woman's Municipal League.

Another has been for many years a director of the Massachusetts Prison Association, a member of the Massachusetts Child Labor Committee and a trustee of Smith College.

Another has been for twenty years on the Massachusetts Prison Commission and director of a hospital.

One member of our Executive Committee has been on the School Committee of her home town for twelve years, on the County School Committee nine years, is a trustee of the library, a manager of the District Nursing Association, is prominent in village improvement society work and for ten years has been president of a Free Hospital for Boston.

Another has been vice-president of a Home for Aged Women and manager of a Home for Crippled Children.

Another was for many years president of the Consumers' League.

Another is a director in the Boston Playgrounds Association.

Another is on the State Library Commission.

Another is president of the Boston Social Service League.

Another is prominent in the Society for Improved Housing of the Poor.

Another is president of a Village Improvement Society, vice-president of a Hospital League and one of the managers of the anti-tuberculosis work in the town where she lives.

Another has been chairman of the sanitation department of the Woman's Municipal League and led the fight against the typhoid fly.

Another is a director of the Massachusetts Milk Consumers' Association, director of the Department of Public Health of the Woman's Municipal League, chairman of its committee on sanitation and safety of public buildings and conveyances, chairman of the committee on infant social service, which was the pioneer in introducing prenatal work among the poor; this work has been so successful that while the rate of still-births in the city of Boston at large has varied during the last twenty years from 33.1 to 44.7 per thousand births, among the patients cared for by this committee during the last two years the rate has not exceeded 18.6 per thousand. The influence of work done by this committee is spreading rapidly and physicians in California and Scotland write that they are copying its methods.

Another member of our Anti-Suffrage Executive Committee is treasurer of her Town Industrial School.

Another is manager of an Industrial Home.

Another is on the Board of Management for a Home for Working Women, a Home for Incurables, a Woman's Free Hospital and Industrial School for Crippled Children, trustee of a Free Library and of the Woman's Welfare Department of the National Civic Federation.

Another is connected with the work of the Woman's Civic Federation, the Widow's Society and is a visitor for the Massachusetts Hospital.

These women are the directors of the anti-suffrage work in Massachusetts and represent in their interests and activities thousands of women throughout the State who belong to our Association and whose names and influence are a power for good. They are disinterested, public-spirited citizens who give their time and service to questions of public welfare without the hope of political reward or preferment.

These women ask you not to force them into political life. They believe that if they were to take part in partisan strife the strength of their present disinterested position would be lost and the value of their work lessened. These workers for the common good have learned, in the words of a great English worker, Miss Violet Markham, that while the Suffragists may assert that the possession of the vote is the symbol of liberty, its absence is the symbol of something better, the symbol of disinterested service.

"SUFFRAGE" PROMOTES NEITHER EFFICIENCY NOR DEMOCRACY

STATEMENT OF MISS ALICE HILL CHITTENDEN

WE come before you this afternoon to present to you some of the principles, governmental, biological and social, upon which we base our opposition and objection to this very radical proposition to extend the suffrage to women.

The advocates of woman suffrage tell us that this question has passed beyond the stage of academic discussion because women already have full suffrage in nine States of the Union and partial suffrage in one other. But even were this principle of admitting women to the electorate a sound one, which we will not admit, this experiment might work well for a short time in States with small cities and a large native-born American white population, and might spell disaster in other States which are confronted by the very serious and difficult problem of establishing and administering an efficient government in large cities with an immense alien population.

Take, for instance, the suffrage State of Colorado. The population of that State is equal to the population of the city of Boston plus the population of the city of Fall River. The population of the whole suffrage State of Wyoming is about equal to the population of the city of Worcester, Mass. The population of the State of Utah is not as large as the population of the District of Columbia, and the entire population of the nine States in which women are now voting is 1,382,065 less than the population of New York State.

Furthermore, in the nine suffrage States, exclusive of Illinois, there are only 1,998,078 women over twenty-one years of age, and of that number over 1,000,000 are native-born whites, whereas in the great Empire State of New York we have 2,757,000 women over twenty-one years of age and only about 900,000 of this number are native-born whites, which is approximately 100,000 less than the native-born white women in the nine woman suffrage States.

A large proportion of the alien women in New York State are married, and the extension of suffrage to women in New York would therefore mean an immense addition to our foreign vote, since the woman takes her husband's citizenship, and therefore the wife of any naturalized citizen might vote after she had resided one year in the State.

The wisdom of the Federal Constitution in leaving the regulation of the suffrage to the States themselves is very evident, since each State has its own problems to meet and consider, and we believe that this question of women suffrage therefore does not come within the jurisdiction of the National Congress.

MR. CHANDLER: Let me ask you a question about the foreign element. Is it not the contention of the Anti-Suffragists that woman suffrage should be opposed because the foreign-born woman who comes here and becomes naturalized could qualify herself to vote, and that if we had woman suffrage all the foreign women would be permitted to vote?

MISS CHITTENDEN: I think the contention of the Anti-Suffragists is that what we are aiming for is efficient government in every respect.

MR. CHANDLER: Are you not indirectly attacking our immigration laws which permit foreigners to come here and become naturalized?

MISS CHITTENDEN: I do not intend to.

MR. CHANDLER: Is that not the natural result?

MISS CHITTENDEN: I do not look upon it that way.

MR. CHANDLER: I just make this suggestion, that we permit foreigners to become naturalized, and when we permit the man coming from a foreign country to become naturalized and vote, why should we not also permit his wife to do the same thing?

MISS CHITTENDEN: The foreigner who comes to this country must live here five years. The wife of the naturalized American need only live in New York one year before she becomes a voter. If suffrage is extended to women in New York State and you ask the foreign men to live here five years before you think they are qualified to vote, why should you only oblige the foreign women to live here one year before allowing them to exercise the full privileges of voting?

We claim that it is for the voters of New York State themselves to determine whether governmental conditions in that State will be improved by adding over 2,000,000 votes to the present electorate of nearly 3,000,000. This is not a question to be decided for New York by the legislatures of thirty-six other States, which might possibly vote for a Federal Constitutional amendment to extend the suffrage to all the women in all the States.

MR. DYER: I believe it was stated this morning that the question of suffrage for women is to be voted on in New York State next year. Is that the fact?

MISS CHITTENDEN: In 1915 probably the amendment will be brought before the voters of New York so that they may vote upon it.

MR. DYER: Did I understand that your position is that that is the proper course to be taken?

MISS CHITTENDEN: That is the proper course.

MR. DYER: What position did your organization take?

MISS CHITTENDEN: Our New York State Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage took the position at the Republican convention at Saratoga in 1913, and later at the Democratic convention at Syracuse, that the time had come in New York State when the question should be submitted to the voters at the polls, and we withdrew our opposition to the passage of the woman suffrage Constitutional amendment by the legislature of New York State. It went through the legislature last year without the slightest opposition from our Association.

MR. NELSON: If you favored the people of New York State having the right to vote upon that question, why not let the people of the other States do the same thing?

MISS CHITTENDEN: Why should the people of other States decide the question of suffrage in New York State when the Federal Constitution leaves the regulation of suffrage to each State?

But leaving aside the question of the alien woman voter, are we going to strengthen or weaken our government by admitting women to the electorate and according them full political authority without full political responsibility?

Has it ever occurred to you gentlemen that the vote of women might initiate politics which might plunge this country into war? Herbert Spencer says in his book on Social Ethics: "Unless, therefore, women furnish a contingent to the army and navy such as men furnish it is manifest that ethically considered the question of equal political so-called rights of women cannot be entertained until there is reached a state of permanent peace."

Suppose, on the other hand, that women voted against a war policy which had been adopted in order to save the nation from dishonor? Upon whom would then devolve the task of re-establishing the honor of the State?

Has not the State been built up by men? Are not its institutions, its commerce, its industries dependent in the last resort upon the strength and courage of men? Therefore the real responsibility of maintaining the State rests with men. Does not law become enfeebled unless there is knowledge that there is force back of it?

We are told that women can fight. But should they? Is a fighting Amazon, or an abusive, self-assertive Xantippe a high ideal of womanhood? The wise State recognizes that woman's strength must be conserved for the great work she only can do for the State, and therefore keeps her off the firing-line by exempting her from governmental and political responsibility.

MR. DYER: If women had the right to vote, do you not believe they would exercise that right for peace to a greater extent that men would, speaking of war? Is it not a fact that women are more in favor of keeping peace with foreign nations than men are?

MISS CHITTENDEN: That may be practically so. I do not know that we have any practical illustrations to show that it is so.

MR. DYER: Do you not think that the women of the north and the south did as great service for the respective causes for which the men fought in 1861-1865 as did the men themselves?

MISS CHITTENDEN: How about the French Revolution? Do you not think the women played a large part in that?

The application of Democratic principles is frequently brought into a discussion of this question of woman suffrage. We are told that it is contrary to Democracy to withhold suffrage from women. But in the fervor of extolling Democracy two points are overlooked: first, that while our government may be a Democracy in a popular sense, it is not one as a political mechanism, and secondly, Democracy is more than a government; it is a spirit of life, which in its unfoldment and development comes to a realization of the great brotherhood of man. We may double our electorate by giving every woman a vote or by giving two votes to every man and we will not get one bit more Democracy. But in so far as woman is developing this spirit in the minds of the future citizens she is doing her part towards building up a better and more enduring State.

And then we must not forget that the real aim of Democracy is to obliterate arbitrary and artificial distinctions. Democracy does not attempt to efface distinctions which nature has created. And who shall deny that nature has created a difference between the male and the female? We cannot accept the dictum that woman suffrage is a great step in woman's progress, as we are sometimes told, when we recognize that the increasing tendency on the part of woman to assume the responsibilities and activities of man is at distinct variance with two natural laws.

First, the essential and intended difference in sex activity, and second, the great law of evolution which teaches us that the development of the race has been continuous growth in civilization. The history of civilization shows that as civilization advances the respective functions of men and women are more definitely developed, and subtle differences of temperament or nature are more pronounced. A recognition of this difference does not imply superiority of one sex or the inferiority of the other, for in this dualism of human life one supplies what the other lacks.

The very differentiation of the functions of man and woman has developed in all these ages a differentiation of temperament which is reflected in the manner in which they do their work. A woman does her work through sympathy, a man does work through action; a woman through her instinct, and a man through reason. When a woman attempts to fight with a man's weapons she is almost sure to be defeated.

Does woman need the ballot? Has she needed it? Turn back the pages of history for fifty or sixty years and see the changes that have taken place in woman's position in this country during that period. Under the old Common Law, which we inherited from England, woman suffered from many legal disabilities, but these have been removed in most of the States until to-day woman stands superior to man in the eyes of the law in many respects.

Woman has had a chance to enter the fields of higher education, the professions and the industries. All these things have opened up to her without the ballot. If it were known to-morrow that no woman would vote, except in the States where woman suffrage already prevails, not a single activity in which woman is now engaged would be curtailed in any way, neither would her influence be lessened. She has not needed the ballot to reach

her present state of development, and she does not need it to develop her still further.

I deny absolutely that the Anti-Suffragists are on the negative side of the woman suffrage question. We are in the entrenched position from which the others are trying to drive us. The burden of proof is with them, and they have not proved yet that woman needs the ballot to do her work in the world, and neither have they proved to anyone's satisfaction, except their own, that they have accomplished anything in the States where they have had the ballot which has not been accomplished in the States where only men vote.

A man in public life here in Washington—and it may be one of the gentlemen sitting before me on this Committee now, because I have never been able to fix a name to this quotation, so some of you may recognize the quotation, which is from a public man here in Washington. This man said two or three years ago in regard to the subject of woman suffrage: "Somewhere within the borders of this country to-day there are mothers who are bringing up four Presidents, one hundred cabinet officers, three hundred senators and five thousand representatives, who between the years of 1930 and 1950 will be making the history of this country and measurably the history of the world. Woman can have her share in politics if she will. The ballot is not for all. The mere ballot she is so eager to clutch does not in the balance of politics count for more than an ounce in a ton."

I thank you very much, gentlemen, for giving me your attention.

HOW THE VOTE WOULD INJURE WORKING WOMEN

STATEMENT OF MISS MARJORIE DORMAN

REPRESENTING as I do an organization of self-supporting women, my approach to the question of woman suffrage must necessarily be a practical one. Our town and city governments are large corporations formed for the purpose of transacting public business with public funds. Women, as compared with men, have had but little experience in private or trust or corporate business affairs. In the Report on Statistics of Women at Work issued by the Department of Commerce and Labor through the Bureau of the Census in 1907 it is stated that while 90 per cent. of the males of sixteen years of age and over in this country are wage earners, only 20 per cent. of the females of sixteen years of age and over are engaged in any kind of gainful pursuits. So long as this relative inexperience of women in business affairs continues—and unless the home is to be neglected, gentlemen, it must always continue—it is not to be expected that the combined votes of men and women will give as good results as the votes of men alone. As an organization of business women, the Wage Earners' Anti-Suffrage League maintains that the rights and property of all citizens, female as well as male, are more intelligently cared for at present than would be the case if women were added to the electorate. So much for the effect of the votes of women upon the general welfare.

Considering the question as to whether or not the ballot would confer any individual and material benefit upon the 20 per cent. of women in industrial and professional life, we have only to recall the fact that millions of male voters are out of work in this country to-day to realize the absurdity of such a question. Nevertheless, the belief that the ballot would materially aid the women who toil leads many estimable but illogical women to join the suffrage movement. We realize, however, that the ballot does not control the laws of supply and demand, and that education and personal efficiency are the only methods leading to individual success.

Relative to the 20 per cent. of women who are bread-winners in this country, it is interesting to note that 40 per cent. are engaged in personal and domestic service. Therefore my sex, without the medium of the ballot-box, already possess the power to effect beneficent changes in the lives of nearly half the women who toil in the United States. Moreover, 23 per cent. of this 20 per cent. are under voting age. Hundreds of thousands of girls enter the industries at 14 and 16 years of age and leave them to enter homes of their own before they are 21. Woman's relation to labor is transient and accidental, not permanent like that of man.

It has been stated by Suffragists that we working women need the ballot in order to secure adequate laws for our protection. Since only one woman in every five is a working woman, and since force of numbers controls in all elections, it would be difficult for the 20 per cent. of working women to outvote the 90 per cent. of working men or to obtain any legislation favorable to themselves without the aid of men's votes. This statement, that working women must vote in order to obtain juster legislation is, moreover, a libel on American manhood, which American women are quick to resent.

The moment women entered the industries and attempted to become the economic competitors of men they at the same time became an object of solicitude to the general public.

Every labor law which men have placed on the statute books of this country is a blanket law and protects the woman who toils beside the man. Such laws, like the splendid employers' liability law which was recently passed in New York State, read "all employees," "any employee," "every employee," "no employee." There is nowhere to be found any law which discriminates against working women in favor of working men. On the contrary, in every section of this country, but particularly in the East, special sex legislation has been and is being devised which discriminates against the working man in favor of the working woman—and this done by the votes of men, gentlemen. They have given us every protection possessed by themselves, plus numerous laws by which they, on the contrary, are not protected.

Already the abolition of night work for woman is assured in several States—it must be abolished in all States. It can never be abolished for men. Certain dangerous occupations, such as the running of elevators, the cleaning and oiling of moving machinery, the handling of explosives, etc., is prohibited to women in some States—these should be prohibited to women in every civilized community. The same is true of all occupations requiring constant standing. Provision for seats for female employees in stores and shops has been made by the laws of numerous States—but men neither ask nor receive such protection. Women are protected by some sort of minimum wage legislation in Massachusetts, Oregon and California; it is being considered in one form or another in many other States. Moreover, we working women have an eight, nine or ten hour day in several States. Thus without the vote working women have obtained protective laws which men, with the vote, have never, and never will, secure.

Far from wishing to abrogate these laws and place the working man and woman on a legal equality, we seek still greater protection and privilege from the law for women in every occupation. It is obviously impossible, for the sake of future generations, that the law abolish the distinctions hitherto made between the strength of men and the weakness of women. Honorable women, however, cannot confront abstract justice and demand greater protection than that accorded men unless they

ask this protection in the name of weakness. To add this weakness, propped up as it is by exemption from military and jury duty, the very foundations of our government, can only serve to weaken this government. Gentlemen, every successful business man will tell you that this is an age of specialization. Since, according to the last census, only 19.5 per cent. of the women of this country are unmarried, it is only natural to suppose that the great majority of women are concentrating and specializing on the American baby crop. This is the most direct influence a woman can bring to bear upon the State. She brings it through the channels of education and religion in the quiet haven of home. Do not force these homes and these mothers into that struggle for temporal place and power, which is politics. Do not insist that women of this nation become partisans and combatants. The moral force of women has been great hitherto solely because they were outside the political conflict, and so were disinterested. Whatever women might gain in material or practical knowledge would be more than offset by the dust and grime of the struggle. Let us, rather, like the wise men, follow the light of a star and lay whatever gifts of genius we possess at the feet of a little child. Surely a wise woman can do no nobler thing.

WHAT SORT OF REVOLUTION SUFFRAGISTS ARE FOMENTING

STATEMENT OF MRS. O. D. OLIPHANT

AT the hearing before the Rules Committee December 4th Mrs. A. J. George, of Boston, presented testimony from the writings and speeches of prominent leaders of the suffrage movement showing that feminism is a live issue of the suffrage campaign. I desire to refer you to Mrs. George's testimony incorporated in the report of that hearing, and I wish to use this opportunity to supplement Mrs. George's testimony with a recital of a few facts of recent date that clearly indicate the vigorous hold the feminist doctrine has upon the adherents of woman suffrage.

In fairness to some splendid women who have been lured into the suffrage movement by constantly reiterated, glittering slogans, I want to say that I do not believe they have dug beneath the surface of these slogans and realize what is the real meaning of the suffrage movement. But let me say that if they have not dug beneath the superficial crust they have no business advocating "votes for women," or anything else for women, and they stamp themselves as superficial thinkers. But if they do understand the full meaning of this movement, they are a direct menace to our civilization and their aim is the destruction of our American home. I prefer to believe that most Suffragists know not what they do.

Briefly, feminism demands the economic independence of all women, its advocates regard it as a degradation for women to accept the support of father, husband or brother; they demand equal wages with men and they propose to use the vote as a means to attain this end; they declare that woman has been hampered by her assumption of household cares and the rearing of children, and that she must be relieved from this restraint so that she may enjoy unlimited freedom, but they offer no solution to the natural question who is to take woman's place as the responsible officer in the household if she gains freedom from what the feminists consider her present position of slavery.

Woman suffrage is the keystone in the arch of feminism, and feminism as outlined by the Suffragists appears to be a revolt against the true duties, responsibilities and ideals of womanhood. This issue of feminism as defined by the Suffragists is an issue that the men of the country, who have the best interests of the country at heart, cannot afford to ignore.

During the month of February two feminist mass meetings have been held in New York City. All the speakers were Suffragists, many of them noted leaders of the "votes for women" agitation. The presiding officer of these meetings was Mrs. Marie Janney Howe, leader of the 25th Assembly District for the New York State Woman Suffrage Association. From a court stenographer's report of these meetings I will review for your consideration the issue of feminism as advanced by the advocates of woman suffrage.

Mrs. Howe, who presided at these meetings, said: "That feminism is the entire woman movement, and the reason why so many people find it difficult to understand is that they have focused their attention on one part, instead of regarding the whole." Mrs. Howe here indicates that some Suffragists have only focused their attention upon the political aspect, the gaining of the vote, while they have been guilty of not having definite knowledge of their own movement as a whole.

Miss Rose Young says: "As I see it, that old idea that motherhood takes away from general capacity must be abandoned and all that poetic romancing about motherhood shorn of its feeling of pity for women because motherhood keeps them out of other creative activities. Whatever the future may reveal, it will reveal that elective motherhood, not compulsory motherhood, will increase general capacity. When that revelation is put upon us we shall see that the human career of woman, and when I say human career I mean the artistic career, the professional woman's career, the business woman's career, will not be retarded or interfered with by motherhood."

Miss Henrietta Rodman expressed her views on feminism as follows: "No selfish and no lazy woman will join it (meaning the feminist movement). They will call us mad, because they recognize that in the long run through feminism they will lose many privileges they now hold, such a privilege, for instance, as that of alimony, and such a privilege as that of being supported throughout life." She further adds: "That the happiness we get through serving our families is not very great, that we ought to push out and do very much more. You know that the feminist ideal, or idea, is that at about half-past eight in the morning the woman starts to work at about the same time her husband does and at about the same time that the children start to school. * * * Under the organization feminists propose there will be an efficient engineer in the household, and this engineer will, of course, be a specialist." We see that the feminists' idea of the future is that children are to be engineered instead of mothered.

Mr. George Middleton, in his ardent appeal for feminism, says: "Feminism to me means trouble; trouble means agitation; agitation means movement; movement means life; life means adjustment and readjustment, and so does feminism. It demands equal pay for equal work. It says that when men and women can contribute financially to a home marriage can take place, not when the man's bank account permits it. It believes in the economic independence of all women." He says: "Feminism, as I see it, seeks to change social opinion towards the sex relation. It asks, in other words, that men and women be judged by individual instances; it asks that the private life of either sex be not the sole test of their public efficiency. There can be no equality before the law when the sexual acts of a woman are more condemned and punished by society than the sexual acts of a man. Feminism, as I see it and believe in it, freely discusses because it recognizes no greater bond than *freedom* in marriage."

Miss Frances Perkins says: "Feminism to me means revolution, and I am first and foremost a revolutionist. Feminism is the revolution of women against the dogma of sex, and like all

revolutions we have got to expect the things that go with the revolution. The feminist movement as I take it is really based upon a theory that women not only may, but must ignore their sex and go about the business of life in any way in which they may see fit. In ignoring their sex I mean that they must ignore and deny and set aside the rules and regulations which have been laid down for the conduct by one side of the community for the other in a generation and civilization long since gone into the past and buried. It means when we say we will ignore our sex and go about the business of life in any way that we see fit, that we will ignore our sex and go about performing our social duties, our economic duties and our physical duties without allowing ourselves to be hindered and protected by these old time-honored rules and regulations, for these rules and regulations were a protection that no man can ask and which women should not ask, for these old rules and customs give to the woman a distinct advantage, if she is willing to take it; the modern woman is not willing."

The laws on the statute books of the several States grant to women special protection and privilege because the State realizes woman's special contribution to society, but the feminists, as we have just heard, demand that women must abrogate both protection and privilege. This may be the demand of 8 per cent. of the women of the country, 92 per cent. say no to this feminist doctrine.

Mr. George Creel, in his impassioned appeal for feminism, states that "We are going to have different divorce laws, and when women stand out as their capable selves and not as slaves to be told pretty things before marriage and allowed to do the washing afterwards, I still think we will have a finer type of companionship. And as for the home, the home that we reverence as that fine old institution surrounded with the sacredness of chivalry, it seems to me that the home will be all the finer when we leave off the chivalry bunk and the home bunk."

Mrs. Chrystal Eastman Benedict, who spoke for the Suffragists this morning, was one of the speakers at the first feminist mass meeting in New York City. She declared herself to be "An exalted and fanatical believer in feminism." She said: "To me feminism means freedom for woman, freedom of all kinds. Freedom of choice in life and in marriage will follow economic independence, and cannot come before it. Women will win their rights to work, of play and of adventure, as well as men."

Max Eastman, the noted advocate of Socialism, was also one of the speakers at this first feminist meeting. I desire to place before the Committee this copy of the Socialist paper entitled *The Masses* and of which Mr. Eastman is the editor. I secured this copy of *The Masses* at the headquarters of the Women's Social and Political Union in New York City. I asked the young lady in charge for their strongest argument for woman suffrage and she recommended the Socialist paper which I have just now placed before you. The Women's Social and Political Union is an auxiliary of the National American Woman Suffrage Association. Mr. Eastman's plea for feminism was greeted with wild enthusiasm by the large audience of Suffragists who were present at this meeting. Mr. Eastman's demand for feminism, as you will observe, contains a Socialist threat. He says: "Woman should be made free from all the limitations of law, of dogma and of custom. A woman who wants to go out into the industrial, the political, the artistic or the romantic world for a life of adventure should be free to do it. I want woman to be free because I love liberty and believe in it. I know that women are going to grow in a new way; the women of the leisure classes are no longer going to devote all their time to matters of sex and of motherhood and of society; they are going to reform, to grow, and the women of the working classes are going to carry this struggle for human liberty to a point far beyond any that is now contemplated by the middle classes, Idealists, who now occupy the platform in the woman's movement in this country. They are going to carry it so far that the women of the leisure class will have to go out and get work whether they decide to do it or not. They are going to be on the lines in the great struggle between labor and capital, fighting shoulder to shoulder with the men for the liberty of all. That is where you will find feminists in the future. I suppose that feminism bears about the same relationship to Suffragism that syndicalism bears to Socialism. It is a perfectly healthy reaction in a movement which has been so long concentrated upon politics as a means of attaining its end that it is almost got ready to believe that politics is the thing itself. It is an impulse upon the part of those who believe in the liberation and development of women to be a little more direct about it. I would suggest finally as the important move to consider that we should mix in a little more direct action to it."

At a recent meeting in Trenton, N. J., Mrs. Mary Dennet Ware, corresponding secretary of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, made this statement, she was addressing the Trenton Civics and Suffrage Club at the time: "Woman has too long been hampered by being held down by household cares, the time has come when she must have a more illuminating freedom," and she finished this part of her discourse by saying: "It is unwholesome for any woman to be supported by any man." Not a single Suffragist present rose to protest against this feminist doctrine.

I hold in my hand a copy of a pamphlet entitled "Bondwomen." This pamphlet is published and issued by the National American Woman Suffrage Association, 505 Fifth Avenue, New York City. This pamphlet is one of its campaign documents. The National American Woman Suffrage Association sells at its headquarters in New York City a bibliography on woman suffrage; it is entitled "The Case for Woman Suffrage." In this bibliography they have a system of awarding "Stars of Praise" to their propaganda that they consider of especial value. The highest number of "Stars of Praise" awarded is six; this pamphlet is favored with three "Stars of Praise" in the "Case for Woman Suffrage." The author of "Bondwomen" is urging the economic independence of all women. She says: "To this end she will have to strive, and that she should so strive will be well for her children. Many will say that this responsibility on the mother is too hard. What are the responsibilities of the father? Well, that is HIS business. Perhaps the State will have something to say to him, but the Free Woman's Concern is to see to it that she shall be in a position to bear children if she wants them without soliciting maintenance from any man, whoever he may be; and this she can only do if she is earning money for herself, or is provided for out of some common fund for a limited time. Feminism would hold that it is neither desirable nor necessary for women, when they are mothers, to leave their chosen, money-earning work for any length of time. The fact that they so often do so largely rests on tradition, which has to be worn down. In wearing it down vast changes must take place in social conditions, in housing, nursing, kindergarten, education, cooking, cleaning, in the industrial world and in the professions. The changes will have for their motive the accommodation of such conditions as will enable women to choose and follow a life-work apart from and in addition to their natural function of reproduction."

I call the attention of the Committee to an advertisement on the inside rear cover of this pamphlet "Bondwomen," which is printed in large type and which reads: "Send for free catalog of Suffrage and Feminist Literature. Address, National American Woman Suffrage Association, 505 Fifth Avenue, New York City."

That feminism is a live and vital issue of the suffrage campaign is a fact—not because I say so, but because their official campaign literature urges and demands feminism; their speakers preach feminism; their "Case for Woman Suffrage" praises feminism, and the official catalog of the National American Woman Suffrage Association commends and advertises feminism.

It is a significant fact that the only woman's organization in the country that issues feminist literature and that campaigns for feminism is the National American Woman Suffrage Association and its auxiliaries.

Those opposed to suffrage stand for the conservation of the home, the Suffragists for the sex revolution, which means the disruption of the home.

The United States is composed of forty-eight States; a State is made up of many communities; communities are made up of the rows and rows of little homes. The woman with the masculine chip on her shoulder and the woman who may be able to perform exceptional tasks are fortunately in the minority—they are not the women upon whom society depends—the women who count are the busy women of the homes; they outnumber the others a hundred to one.

Will we have better government under feminist ideals, with woman as man's competitor, sex antagonist, or under the old régime, where woman's work is to form the character of the future citizen of the republic?

Shall we abandon honor, morality, civilization, at the call of a minority of women whose slogan is "Votes for Women," but whose evident intention is a sex revolution?

Conservation is one of the watchwords of the hour; the men of this country are conserving our forests, our waterways, etc.; may I suggest that the time has now come for you to conserve the womanhood of the country and thereby preserve the nation?

Gentlemen, I thank you.

ASTONISHING DECREASE IN VOTE IN SUFFRAGE STATES

STATEMENT OF MISS MINNIE BRONSON

THE question of the expediency of passing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States granting to women the franchise has been argued pro and con before the Judiciary Committee for some years. The Suffragists have denied the ability of this Committee to pass upon such an amendment. One leader affirming that you were so constantly engaged with the affairs of law and the legal status of questions that you were temperamentally unfit to grapple with a question of pure sentiment. I need not say to you that we are more than glad that this question dealing with such a serious matter as an amendment to the Constitution, and especially with the extension of our present franchise laws, should come before the Judiciary Committee, whose business it is to inquire into the legal aspects of the question, to judicially consider the results of such an amendment and not to treat such a momentous question as one purely sentimental. And I do not for one moment believe that there rests in the mind of a single member of this Committee, whether he is in favor of suffrage or opposed, the slightest belief that the Federal Government should enact such an amendment, that it would be a course of wisdom or of sanity either for the present or the future of our Government. It would be a presumption on my part to call your attention to any of the legal aspects of the case, and I shall not so presume; but since we are here to give you our views of the question it may not, I assume, be a presumption to mention two or three facts easily demonstrable.

First, then, if such an amendment should be recommended by this Committee and passed by Congress and ratified by three-fourths of the States of this country it is more than probable that it would represent the minority opinion and not the majority opinion of those voting. There are forty-eight States in the Union, thirty-six are necessary for ratification, but it is not only possible but entirely probable that these thirty-six would be largely recruited from that part of our country which lies west of the Mississippi, where the population is sparse and the people are homogenous and the difficult questions of racial differences cut no figure.

In other words, Wyoming, with its 145,000 inhabitants, would counterbalance New York with its 10,000,000. Idaho, where it is a question of the extension of the franchise to some thousands of women of American birth, would counterbalance Massachusetts, which is two-thirds foreign and has 80,000 more women than men. The great industrial States of New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts and Pennsylvania, where this question of woman suffrage is most menacing because it means more than doubling an electorate, which to-day is of great concern to those commonwealths, would be counterbalanced by Colorado, Idaho, Utah and Wyoming, whose combined population is about equal to that of Connecticut with an area considerably less than a single county in any of the four. Nine States, including the eastern industrial States I have mentioned, and the three States of Ohio, Michigan and Wisconsin, where within the past eighteen months woman suffrage has been defeated with majorities approaching 100,000 in each, contain a greater population than any thirty-six States of the Union, if we exclude the States which have disfranchised an electorate which was forced upon them by an act identical with that proposed in this bill. Our greatest President, although the friend of that enfranchised race, was opposed to that amendment for he more than any of his contemporaries foresaw the result.

Does anyone doubt his love of fair play, his great-heartedness or his friendship for the colored man because in his greater wisdom he opposed this amendment to the Constitution and, as he said, labored not for their race for the present time but for the good of mankind for all time.

MR. NELSON: May I ask a question right here?

MISS BRONSON: Certainly.

MR. NELSON: Would not your argument apply with equal force against any Constitutional amendment?

MISS BRONSON: It is possible, but I do not think so. I think it applies more to the question of suffrage than to any other amendment to the Constitution.

I think it should be very difficult to pass a Constitutional amendment, and I know that the Suffragists have said that this system, that is, the voice of the majority, shall rule, I know that they have said that this system is too slow for them, and so they say they want a Constitutional amendment because it is quicker. They say if the Constitution stands in their way you should tear up the Constitution.

MR. NELSON: As I understand it, your argument so far has been as to the relative size of New York and Wyoming. Is that so?

MISS BRONSON: Yes, I have spoken of that.

MR. NELSON: That would be an argument against every amendment to the Constitution.

MISS BRONSON: I think it is rather an argument against amending the Constitution hastily.

Then this same greatest President of ours has been quoted as being in favor of woman suffrage. If I read the English language correctly, certainly what he said does not indicate that he was in favor of universal woman suffrage. I would like to read this to you, because I have it here. This is what Mr. Lincoln said: "I go for all sharing the privilege of the Government who assist in bearing its burdens. Consequently I go for admitting all whites to the right of suffrage who pay taxes or bear arms (not excluding females)." If there is anything in that utterance which indicates that he was in favor of universal

woman suffrage I am not familiar with the English language. I have a little map here which I picked up on this table showing that twenty States to-day have a tax-paying suffrage. Mr. Lincoln stood for tax-paying suffrage for women, but I cannot for the life of me believe that Mr. Lincoln would have advised that women should bear arms in order that they might vote.

This question has been argued before various committees of Congress this winter. It has met repeated defeat in various quarters, in committee, in caucuses, before the President. And yet here we are again to-day arguing the same thing over again. Not because the Suffragists can hope for favorable action, but because, as it seems to me, they dare to use the Federal Government as a means of advertising their cause.

I don't know whether you would call that petty grafting or not.

MR. DYER: You are the secretary of the Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage?

MISS BRONSON: Yes, sir.

MR. DYER: You have the records showing the membership of the organization?

MISS BRONSON: I have the records, but not in my hands at the present moment.

MR. DYER: Can you give the Committee an idea as to the approximate membership of your organization?

MISS BRONSON: We have approximately 100,000 members twenty-one years of age and over.

MR. DYER: Have you the membership by States?

MISS BRONSON: I think we have it by States.

MR. DYER: Will you give that statement to the reporter so that it may be printed in the record?

MISS BRONSON: I can give it to the Committee later.

MR. DYER: We can have it later?

MISS BRONSON: Yes, sir.

Mr. Chairman, before such an amendment is placed in the Constitution of the United States there are certain things that ought to be fairly established.

The one thing that contributes more than all other factors to bad government, as every governmental authority acknowledges, is what is known as the stay-at-home vote.

I have in my hand statistics, which I shall ask to have incorporated in the report of this hearing, which show that in November, 1912, at the Presidential election, which, of course, brings out the maximum vote of every four years in the six suffrage States of California, Washington, Colorado, Utah, Idaho and Wyoming, only 47½ per cent. of the possible electorate of both sexes voted. But in the surrounding male suffrage States of Kansas, Nebraska, Oregon, Nevada, South Dakota and Missouri 69 per cent. of the male voters voted. One of two conclusions equally disastrous must be accepted. If 69 per cent. of the men in the equal suffrage States voted then only 17.5 per cent. of the women entitled to vote voted. If a greater per cent. than 17.5 per cent. of the women voted, then more men remained at home in these States than in the surrounding male suffrage States. These figures are the returns of the various secretaries of state.

MR. CHANDLER: This morning a statement was made to the effect, as I recollect, that less than 1 per cent. less of women voted than men. Was that a mistake?

MISS BRONSON: I do not know, but I question such figures. I have the statistics of the secretaries of state, which are, of course, both accurate and authoritative. I will give those statistics to the reporter and have them incorporated in the hearing. I have the facts and figures showing that only 47.5 per cent. of the electorate in the suffrage States voted, that is, in the six suffrage States, and that in States of like condition, geographically and socially, 69 per cent. of the men voted.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE STATES

California. Population 21 years of age or over, exclusive of Japanese and Chinese—		
Males	890,794	
Females	665,450	
Total possible vote	1,556,244	
Actual vote for Presidency		673,527
Colorado—		
Males	269,211	
Females	213,340	
Total possible vote	482,551	
Actual vote		266,871
Wyoming—		
Males	61,519	
Females	28,426	
Total possible vote	89,945	
Actual vote		42,296
Washington—		
Males	428,825	
Females	276,429	
Total possible vote	705,254	
Actual vote		322,799
Idaho—		
Males	108,847	
Females	69,761	
Total possible vote	178,608	
Actual vote		104,203
Utah—		
Males	101,902	
Females	85,648	
Total possible vote	187,550	
Actual vote		111,894
Total population of men and women 21 years or more of age, exclusive of Japanese and Chinese, in six suffrage States, and, therefore, the total possible vote in those six States		3,200,152
Total vote actually cast in those six States for the Presidency in 1912		1,521,590
The per cent. which voted		47½

NON-WOMAN-SUFFRAGE STATES

Kansas—		
Males 21 years of age or over, exclusive of Japanese and Chinese		508,425
Votes cast		356,442
Nebraska—		
Male votes possible		352,995
Votes cast		249,871
Oregon—		
Male votes possible		244,719
Votes cast		137,040
Nevada—		
Male votes possible		38,443
Votes cast		20,744
South Dakota—		
Male votes possible		178,054
Votes cast		116,325
Missouri—		
Male votes possible		972,483
Votes cast		698,562
Total men 21 years or over in six non-suffrage States		2,295,119
Total vote in the six non-suffrage States for President		1,587,984
Percentage of possible vote cast in six non-suffrage States		69

If 69 per cent. of the men voted in the woman suffrage States, as they did in the non-woman suffrage States, an analysis of the figures shows that only 17.8 per cent. of the women voters in the suffrage States actually voted.

Here are the striking facts: In the six woman suffrage States only 47½ of the total possible vote was cast. In the six non-suffrage States near the suffrage States 69 per cent. of the total possible vote was cast, showing that woman suffrage, according to these statistics, which have been secured from the secretaries of state of the various States and from the most accurate published figures available, tends to decrease the actual voting strength rather than to increase healthy interest in politics.

MR. CHANDLER: Do you regard the late result in Chicago just as an ordinary phenomenon of woman suffrage?

MISS BRONSON: I would like to speak of the vote in Chicago. Anyone who was there will remember how they got out their carriages and automobiles and tried to get the women to go to the polls, and yet with all their efforts out of 620,000 women in the State only 158,000 registered, and of these 158,000 less than 47,000 voted, so that less than 8 per cent. of the number of the women entitled to vote in the city of Chicago really did enroll their opinions.

In the last election in San Francisco less than 16 per cent. of the women entitled to vote did vote. That brings to my mind a recent article published in a current magazine in which reference is made to the recall of a certain mayor in the State of Washington, in which it was said that of the 22,000 women who voted—and, by the way, that was less than 30 per cent. of the women in the city—the 22,000 women who voted at the time of the recall were 22,000 votes against that mayor and against the vicious policies which he represented. It was rather curious that the week following the issuance of that magazine the same gentleman was elected in Seattle, and one wonders what became of the 22,000 votes that were against him.

MR. MCCOY: Are you speaking of Mayor Gill of Seattle?

MISS BRONSON: Yes, sir, I am.

MR. MCCOY: Was he re-elected?

MISS BRONSON: So I am informed.

I challenge any of our opponents to show wherein a single reform has been brought about in suffrage States which cannot be met in male suffrage States of similar development and of identical condition. The laws for children and women are constantly quoted to show what women have done where they vote. But in their quotations all the good legislation is accredited to women and comparison with other States skillfully avoided. There has been great advance in all States in the last twenty years in the laws for the protection of women and children and for other betterment work, but the suffrage States are not in advance of other States of like conditions, socially and geographically, where women do not exercise the elective franchise.

You will hear that an eight-hour law for working women exists only in woman suffrage States. With the exception of the new eight-hour law in the District of Columbia, where neither men nor women vote, this is true; but an equally important provision for the protection of working women, namely, night prohibition of labor, exists only in male suffrage States.

Let me make a short comparison. Colorado has an eight-hour law for women, but that law does not limit the hours per week nor does it prohibit night work for women, so that a woman in Colorado may be employed eight hours in every twenty-four for seven days a week and her hours may be at night labor, while in Nebraska, Colorado's nearest neighbor on the east, a nine-hour day to women but limits the number of hours per week to fifty-four and absolutely prohibits night labor. Certainly a better law by far than that of Colorado. It would seem if woman suffrage were alone responsible for the remedial legislation in Colorado that woman suffrage must have had a disastrous effect upon the men of that State.

The laws for the protection of property-owning women have also rapidly advanced in the past eighty years. In 1841, eight years before the woman suffrage movement was inaugurated, Rhode Island passed a law giving to married women the control of their own property; in 1844 this law was further amended to protect the earnings of a married woman, and from that day to this the good work has steadily advanced. Each year has seen better and more far-reaching laws placed upon our statute books by men who are being constantly denounced as unjustly discriminating against our sex. And I for one feel that it will be a bad thing if the time should ever come when those laws which now discriminate in our favor (for we have laws that do) are taken off the statute books of our States and women are compelled to stand on exactly the self-same footing as men, legally must give and take as men do, although we are not their equals physically.

I thank you, Mr. Chairman.

FEDERAL ACTION CONTRARY TO REASON AND EXPEDIENCY

STATEMENT OF HON. JOHN A. MATTHEWS

I AM a Democrat, a New Jersey Democrat of the Wilson stripe, and though it be difficult in these gladsome days of Democratic usefulness to put aside my partisanship even for a moment, I will do so in order the better to address my arguments to your entire Committee. Were I to speak as a Democrat I could not better sum up my position on the matter before your Committee for consideration than to use the words of your honorable and able colleague and leader of the majority, Mr. Underwood: "If there is one fundamental principle that my party stands for it is local self-government. If the Democratic Party stands for one thing above all others it is that the right of franchise should be governed by the States of the Union and not by the National Government." But, as I have said, I shall put aside my partisanship and with the fullest respect ask you by what rule of right, reason or expediency shall the Federal Congress do violence to the rights of the several States of our Union to govern the franchise within their several limits? Is it right that Congress shall say to the State of New York enfranchise your women and in so doing add to your tax budget a sum sufficient to endow a college like Vassar every five years? Is it reasonable that Congress shall say to Ohio enfranchise your women and disregard the will of the 88,000 majority of your citizens who vetoed the proposition a year or so ago? Is it expedient that Congress should say to any State in the Union enfranchise your women when American womanhood and motherhood, the American family and the home tremble at the infringement of the duties and masculinity of citizenship on the duties of the home and the womanliness of its conservers? Is it right, reasonable or expedient that your honorable body should thrust upon any or all of the States of this Union a movement violative of the rights of the majority of the women of our country? For if you hearken to the cry of the Suffragist agitator for similar rights, shall you be deaf to her sisters of the opposition who ask that their equal rights be safeguarded? I believe in equal rights for women, but I have never believed, nor shall I ever believe, that equal rights mean similar rights. And in the adjustment of governmental processes, in the conserving of women's equal rights, how is the will of the majority, which, after all, is the essence of our Republican form of government, how is it to be expressed? I ask if Congress is to usurp the

function of the States' electorates? You may argue that were the resolution of amendment to be passed by the Federal Congress that the subsequent adoption by the individual States would be an expression of the electorates' majority. But with the minority-populated suffrage States of the West, ten in number, backed by the endorsement of Congress and aided and abetted by a propaganda of 1,000,000 Socialists, financed by streams of wealth erstwhile poured into philanthropic enterprise, what chance would we of the popular majority have to stem the tide of the three-fourths States majority? If ours is a government of the people, for the people and by the people, then here is a question not for minority States to decide, but for popular majority in all the States to pass upon.

You will be told, no doubt you have been told, that the Federal Congress has hitherto acted on matters affecting States, and you may have had cited to you the establishment of the Federal Children's Bureau over which the able Miss Lathrop presides. Thank God for the establishment of that bureau and Godspeed to its work and its workers, for the child is the citizen in the making, its physical, metal and moral conservation, the same duty on the prairies of the West as in the factories of the East, and in these days of big business in which the corporation of one State employs the citizens of many, if guilt is to be personal and laws are not to be evaded on the technicality of jurisdiction, the Federal Children's Bureau and national child labor legislation was the Federal Congress' very duty. That was not a matter of majority, but of humanity. Such legislation is not experimental; it is moral and remedial. And such legislation without women's votes nullifies the only claim of reason which the Suffragist agitator will propound to you, the claim of the expediency of woman suffrage for the economic, social and moral uplift of women and children.

You may, as conditions demand, and with fulsome jurisdiction, legislate for the economic, social and moral uplift of us all, but you may not, and with the fullest respect I venture you must not, even under the established false minority plea of uplift, a plea disproven by the very lips of Suffragist women in suffrage States, you must not, I respectfully repeat, do violence to the rights of States and shake at its very foundation the corner-stone of all State government, the family and the home.

It is not my province in the time so generously allotted to me to discuss the very vital and all-convincing arguments against the enfranchisement of women. Others have done or will do that. Mine is rather a plea to the jurisdiction of the court. Not that I would deny your jurisdiction, but rather that I would protest its exercise from the standpoint of right, reason and expediency, an exercise violative of the very theory of our governmental essence, majority rule, an exercise destructive of the cardinal principle of Democracy, local self-government.

But, you say to me, what of the political expediency of the question? Granted that all you say is true, the active propaganda of which you have spoken may menace our political lives and allow others elected by such subterfuge to supplant us. The movement seems to be coming, why sacrifice ourselves to a hopeless opposition? Fear not, gentlemen. Forewarned is forearmed. The million Socialists who vote for suffrage in the United States and whose every vote the National Suffrage Association's president says she "welcomes," will never in whole or in unit part be cast for or against any one of you. The Constitution of the Socialist party demands that they vote for Socialists only and alone. As to the blank-cartridge opposition of masculine women and feminine men, be equally fearless. When your brothers of the Congress from suffrage States regale you with this bugaboo of political expediency they are but paying the penalty of inexpediency. If the title to continued political existence in suffrage States is the preachment of woman suffrage to the disregard of all else, if the sanction of women's votes and men's votes in woman suffrage States is political expendiency, then it is time that manly moral courage assert itself. And remember further, that this semi-militancy of the suffrage movement must needs run foul of the law of self-defense and upon your return to your respective constituencies you will find that for every blank cartridge fired against you there will be a ballot cast for you. In other words, we will defend you when you are attacked.

No, gentlemen, ours is not a hopeless opposition. Suffrage will not come. The tide is turning. We of the East who preached the evils of the movement, we who saw in it the disguise of the discredited European philosophy of individualism and its litter of revolutionary theories, we have torn the yellow votes-for-women covering from the agitators and revealed the feministic, Socialistic person beneath. What has been the result? To-day the suffrage movement is divided into two camps, the intellectually honest, who say that enforced economic independence and sexual independence is the goal of the suffrage movement, and the faddist-surface-skimming class, of whom we must truly say "there are none so blind as those who will not see." Of course, when you quote the suffrage views of the intellectually honest you are not with the argument that this is but the "fringe of lunacy," that is part of every movement, but let me assure you that fringe has started to ravel, and ere long the entire fabric will be but that lunatic fringe.

And it is precisely these considerations which make the problem of woman suffrage peculiarly State problems, especially at the doors of our ports of entry. You are wrestling in Washington to-day with the Burnett immigration bill. Your House, I believe, has passed the bill, and though personally I may differ from you on it, imagine the chaos a multiplied foreign electorate would create. The unrest of Europe tastes American liberty and the privilege of the ballot expresses itself in individualist doctrines ere American institutions or government is known or taught to the new-made electors. I hold no brief for the literacy test. My Americanism is native born, though of Anglo-Irish parentage. But I do maintain that the Federal Congress should not by the adoption of the resolution of amendment before it take from the States in general, and particularly the States at the ports of entry, the right of local self-government and thereby multiply for them the already colossal problem of the ignorant and foreign vote.

I would that I had time and that it were my province to divest this suffrage agitation of its garb of misrepresentation and to present it before you in its naked inexpediency and unseemly consequences. I must confine myself, however, to urging upon you that it is not right, reasonable nor expedient that the Federal Congress should by the adoption of the resolution of amendment before you aid and abet, in fact enforce, the will of a three-fourths minority-populated States against the majority of the people of the United States. I protest as a citizen of the United States. I protest in the name of thousands upon thousands of men whose citizenship is a duty not lightly borne and who would defend their women from having the duties of citizenship thrust upon them to the detriment of the performance of their duties as women. Our women's slogan is not Women's Rights, but Women's Duties. They seek not citizenship, but to better citizenship. They believe that the home and not the ballot is their concern. Some of them are here before your Committee not as agitators, but, as the late Associate Justice Brown of the U. S. Supreme Court said in speaking of one of them, "upholding the dignity of womanhood and defending the historic position of their (her) sex in our scheme of government."

May I in conclusion take up my partisanship, laid aside for the moment, and again remind you of those able words of Honorable Oscar Underwood, "If there is one fundamental principle that my party stands for it is local self-government. If the Democratic Party stands for one thing above all others it is that the right of franchise should be governed by the States of the Union and not by the National Government."

I thank you for your attention.

The Larger Feminism

ONE of the feminists' chief exponents has been delivering a series of lectures on "The Larger Feminism." She is Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Stetson Gilman. We will print reports of them in the May number. The following is editorial comment from the New York *Times:*

Without science all is vanity. The godlike mind of man blunders, stumbles and comes croppers if it be not schooled in science. Scientific training is everything, the scientific method indispensable, as anybody can see who has read the reports of Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Gilman's lectures on "The Larger Feminism." Take, for instance, the concluding lecture of the series, in which, according to the perfectly trustworthy report in our own columns, "she demolished the theory that woman is necessarily the 'weaker vessel.'" Girl children at birth, she said, are stronger than the boy babies; in Martinique, where the women are allowed to grow up unhampered and unchecked, it takes two men to lift a tray of merchandise which a woman porter easily and gracefully carries upon her head. Women have been stunted and kept down by the diabolical devices of men. Woman has been enslaved to the masculine ideal; physically and psychically she has been modified to fit the standards of this age. Why do men like small women? Mrs. Gilman tells why:

"This ideal of small women came from the fact that the small and weak woman was much easier to manage. In primitive times the swiftest men caught the most women, and the swiftest women escaped the most men. That bred a race from slow women."

This is the very perfection of the scientific method. It is wonderful. Everybody knows that marriage by capture was once universal. Prior to the war of 1812—or was it the Battle of Navarino?—there was no other known way for a man to get a wife. Of course, if capture had not been the universal method it could not be counted the great determining factor in respect to the masculine ideals and the feminine dimensions of the present day. But it was universal. Moreover, it is equally well known that the robust, long-legged women always took to their heels and fled with the speed of the antelope whenever man approached. It was not the simulated evasion of bashfulness and modesty, but a real race for a getaway. Anybody with even half a training in science will understand that early woman, if she were robust and long-legged, prized her freedom above all other things. She wanted not only to broil her own bear meat, but to catch her own bear, to seize the Hyrcan tiger by the tail and beat his brains out against a tree trunk, to skin the armed rhinoceros with a flint hatchet. The mating instinct, which the unscientific treat as though it were a natural law, she scorned. Some caviler will be sure to ask why the big women didn't stand their ground if they were equals of the men physically, but no matter.

So it was that the big women left no posterity, it was only the stunted squaw who slung the papoose over her shoulders. All of which proves that women are weaker than men, not because of any natural differentiation, but because men have come to like small women as being easier to catch and to manage. If this argument does not prove that woman is fit for the vote and ought to have it, we do not see how the case can be proved. But the argument does prove it, of course.

What we may call collateral evidence has been brought out, curiously enough, by the row over the Panama Canal tolls. Senator Chamberlain of Oregon is pretty fierce, and Mr. Larkin of Boston wants President Wilson sent back to Princeton, but with their puny minds they but play with the subject. If you want far-seeing statesmanship read the letter of Lyonetta Murat Day, secretary of the National Society for the Conservation of American Women, who writes from St. Augustine, Fla., in this wise to the American Congress:

"Gentlemen who reverse themselves to aid the British Government in their demand for a repeal of the Panama Free Tolls act commit a breach of faith with the American people and ought to be tried for treason. Lord Robinson told me in 1907 that the Carnegie Peace Endowment Foundation was a deep-laid plot by the House of Lords in England to overthrow the Monroe Doctrine and get control of this country."

Who would have the hardihood to say that a mind capable of entertaining and communicating this startling theory about the Peace Foundation is not fit to direct the hand that marks the ballot in the polling booth?

The Militant Maid

(*From Boston Truth*)

(With apologies to poor, peaceful Father William.)

"I am old," said the writer, "but ere I retire
  One question I'd like to propound—
Do you think that the Suffragist cause can mount higher
  When you're running it so to the ground?"

Said the Militant Maid, "I will frankly reply,
  Though your query is plainly intrusive—
Who cares whether suffrage be holy or high
  So long as it's broad and inclusive?"

"You are young," he continued. ("I seek but the truth
  To be found beneath outward appearance.)
Pray, where is there scope for your beauty and youth
  In this militant, mad interference?"

"In my childhood," she sighed, "I was sternly controlled
  In the impulse to scrap and combat,
But now I'm uncurbed in my tendencies bold,
  And I'm hugely enjoying the spat."

"Do you hope," asked the creature, with sarcasm mild,
  "That you're nearer than when you began?
That these violent deeds, this hysteria wild
  Will make you the equal of man?"

"We've no wish to stay equal," she eagerly cried,
  "We were always too far man's superior,
But once on his plane we will be, to our pride,
  His utter, unworshipped inferior!"

"It is late," he remarked, with a mystified air,
  "Your attention I beg for a minute;
I am writing some stuff on this militant scare—
  Do you think that there's anything in it?"

"Be off," screamed the lady, with expletives tart,
  "My intelligence balks at your thickness;
I've a palace to burn, and a mob fight to start,
  Which depend on my feminine quickness!"

—*Elsie V. H. Baldwin.*

MRS. WARD'S "WELFARE LAWS" PLAN

(*Special Cable to the New York Times*)

LONDON, March 27.—For some time past a movement has been quietly under way which, if carried to successful completion, will to some extent take the wind out of the sails of the women's suffrage campaign in this country.

Now that women's chances of obtaining the vote in the early future seem to have retrograded, there is special appositeness in a plan in which Mrs. Humphry Ward is the leading spirit. As worked out, Mrs. Ward's scheme calls for a joint advisory committee composed of members of Parliament and women social workers.

Mrs. Ward's statement is in part as follows:

"In the proposed joint advisory committee, composed of members of Parliament and women social workers both, ten women are to represent, as far as possible in equal proportions, both the Ministerial and Unionist Parties and both sides of the women's suffrage question. The sole aim and object of the committee is to consider and press forward needed legislation on behalf of women and children.

"The scheme originated in a small meeting of members of Parliament held more than a year ago, from which a letter was sent out, signed by half a dozen members drawn from both sides of the House, asking the co-operation of a committee of women in matters concerning the welfare of women and children.

"The only condition laid down by the original meeting, which included persons of opposed opinions on the suffrage question, was that, for the sake of securing true co-operation on urgent matters of social reform, woman suffrage must be excluded from the debates and action of the committee.

"During the winter the scheme has been quietly pushed forward. About twenty-five members of Parliament from both sides of the House of Commons and representing both views on the suffrage question, have consented to serve on the committees, and about half the requisite number of representative women workers have been secured—Suffragists and Anti-Suffragists.

"It is proposed that a joint committee should meet in London at the House of Commons at regular intervals. The two separate committees of which it is now composed will, no doubt, also meet independently.

"Various committees are being formed to deal in detail with different bills before Parliament, which are concerned with the welfare of women and children. These subcommittees will report to the joint advisory committee, which will deliberate and take action on these reports.

"It is suggested that for this session education in connection with the promised Government bill covering medical inspection of school clinics, the organization of playgrounds and play centers, etc., should take the first place."

Suffrage Worker Comes Over to Anti Side

MY DEAR MRS. C——:

I am heartily in sympathy with the anti-suffrage movement, and if my services are needed will be glad to aid the cause in any way possible.

For years I firmly believed it was a woman's inalienable right to vote, and as one of the campaign workers in California I canvassed part of Los Angeles and stood at the polls all day making converts of the men who came to deposit their votes.

From California I went to Salt Lake, where I made a personal effort towards finding the good women were doing with their ballots. From there I moved to Denver, where I was cordially received by the woman politicians at the election booths of all parties. I made a careful study of surroundings and investigated methods, believing I would find a change in conditions such as I had hoped would be manifested where women could help to redress wrongs and aid in changing laws for their own sex. It was with shame and deep humiliation that I confessed to myself and others that women stood at the polls no better than men, and as I examined closely the inner workings of the heads of factions, I blushed for the demoralization of what was to me always a matter of *pride*—the *name* of *woman*.

Since then I have believed in keeping the home *outside* of such influence and by word and deed have fought "Votes for Women." Our fathers, husbands and sons will do for the country as they have in the past and we by our *influence* can make a *glorious nation* through them and keep ourselves unspotted from the world.

God grant the day may soon come when the women of the present home may be content with the silent force of our grandmothers rather than the vituperation of some Suffragists or the destructiveness of the wild irresponsible creatures of the old world who clamor for the ballot they are unfit to use.

Wishing you all success, believe me I am with you in spirit.

MRS. HELEN ARION LEWIS.

OMAHA, NEB., Feb. 23, 1914.

The Vote of 2,000,000 Negro Women

(*From the Washington Herald*)

"THE Suffragists do not let one single day pass into eternity without proclaiming from the house tops that the women have a 'right' to vote," said Mrs. E. G. Edwards at anti-suffrage headquarters yesterday, speaking on "The Southern Woman." Mrs. Edwards is a North Carolinian and is visiting in this city. She is organizing anti-suffrage societies in her native State.

"The deep sense of duty and fairness and justice naturally will impel the Suffragists not only to ask for the vote for their white sisters in the Southern States, where they are now engaged in organizing suffrage clubs, but also for the black women," remarked Mrs. Edwards. "There are in the Southern States approximately 2,000,000 negro women, who might, if they choose, dominate the Southern States if the claims of the Suffragists are granted."

There are many persons, according to Mrs. Edwards, who, with Senator Borah, of Idaho, would like to know if the colored women of the South are to be permitted to vote under the proposed Constitutional amendment.

"Northern Suffragists," continued Mrs. Edwards, "after all their shouting for the right to vote will not calmly and without protest permit the suppression of the vote of the black women of the South, and it is naturally to be expected that the Northern idea will prevail in the end and give the ballot to the black women of the South."

An enfranchisement of the Southern negresses on paper, followed by their disfranchisement in practice and in fact, will not work, according to Mrs. Edwards, "but it will surely lead to racial disorders and an examination by Federal authorities of the entire suffrage conditions in the South."

"Do Dr. Shaw, Miss Addams, Mrs. McCormick, Mrs. Funk and the Southern Suffrage League leaders demand the suffrage as a right?" asked Mrs. Edwards. "If so, do they believe that the black women of the South have a right to vote? If so, will they tolerate, or are they now contemplating the suppression of, the votes of the black women of the South?"

Senator Borah of Idaho shocked suffrage advocates in the Senate on March 18th by declaring that it was impractical and impossible to obtain the vote for women by a Constitutional amendment. "You will never carry the required thirty-six States for a Constitutional woman suffrage amendment," said the senator, "until you repeal the 15th amendment."

DISCUSSION OF POLITICS IN SCHOOLS

RELIGION and politics fortunately have no legal connection in this country. The teaching of religion in public schools is admittedly against public policy. Should not politics also be excluded from our public schools? We should like the opinions of our readers on this question, which the following letter from the Washington (D. C.) *Herald* makes pertinent and timely:

No Politics in the Schools

To the Editor: In looking over a Cincinnati daily the announcement appears that on a certain date a well-known citizen of Cincinnati will address a Covington, Ky., club on "The Power of Personal Influence," and one is again forcibly reminded of the constant and unremitting use of "Personal Influence" now going on among the Suffragists. In season and out of season, in places where they have a right and equally where they can claim no right, they are working indefatigably to bring into their party new converts.

Against the undue use of places where they have no right to promulgate their ideas, those opposed to suffrage certainly have a right to protest. And they should at once request the superintendents of public schools and Boards of Education to prohibit all discussion of the question of woman's suffrage, pro or con, in all the public schools and public universities. Through their appeals to Congress to appoint a national committee on suffrage and their endeavor to have a national amendment inserted in the Constitution of the United States, they have made the question of universal suffrage a political issue. Therefore, any personal influence that they may attempt to exert in the public schools and universities, and also in any department of the Government, comes under the head of "pernicious political activity," which civil service rules already prohibit; and this rule should be applied to all the public schools and universities by the superintendents and boards of education.

As to the private schools, the only remedy that could be applied is vested in the discretion of the parents, and it is for them to determine whether they wish their children to receive instruction on so vital a question as to whether woman shall have the vote in institutions where religion and politics are not supposed to form any part of the curriculum.

That a majority of teachers and instructors are in favor of woman's suffrage and are largely so for personal reasons is a statement that I think can scarcely be questioned. Naturally as their guides along the path of learning, youth has much regard for their opinions without the ability or judgment to look to their motives, and it behooves not only those opposed to suffrage, but the general public, to protest against the misuse of their unquestioned opportunities.

Harriet Fisher Greve.

District Association to Oppose Parade

WHEREAS, It has been repeatedly reported in the public press that it is the intention of Woman Suffragists who are employed in the classified service of the Government to actively participate in a public suffrage parade and political demonstration (wearing party colors, badges, banners, mottos, etc.), to be held in this city and elsewhere in the month of May of this year, and

Whereas, These reports have never been denied by the officials and rank and file of the suffrage associations,

Resolved, That the District of Columbia Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage voice its solemn protest against the participation in such demonstration on the part of Government employees, who are the paid servants of all the people irrespective of party, as being in direct violation of the letter and spirit of the law regulating the conduct of Federal office-holders and employees, and as creating a dangerous precedent in that classified employees subscribing to the Democratic, Republican, Progressive, Socialistic, Prohibitionist, Single Tax or any other political doctrine could claim the same privilege, and as being therefore demoralizing to the public service and detrimental to the interests of the Government; and

Resolved, That the heads of the various departments of the Government and the Civil Service Commission be requested to take steps for the proper enforcement of the law regulating this matter, and to expressly forbid all active participation of Government employees in aforesaid contemplated public and political demonstration, as in so doing they "might cause public scandal or unfavorable comment and offend persons who have relations with them in their official capacity."

(Resolution offered by Miss Josephine Patten and unanimously passed by the District of Columbia Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage.)

Protest Against Marching of Civil Servants

(*From Washington Herald*)

CLERKS AND SUFFRAGE PARADE

To the Editor: As the civil service rules have been in force since 1907, it seems strange that "one of the muzzled" has just discovered that these rules are unconstitutional. The men have obeyed these laws all these years, why should the Suffragists want to have them changed now to suit themselves? These women demand equal rights, and when they find they have them they want not rights, but the women's privilege to do as they please. The "public interest" demands that the clerks in office stay at their desks and do the public work that they are paid for. As the clerks and all who work for the Government are paid by their employers, the taxpayers of the country, the whole people, all parties, they should be strictly nonpartisan while they are working for the Government. If they do not wish to do so, it is their privilege to resign.

The heads of the Government are the ones to decide first how things are to be run, the clerks to do the clerical work assigned to them. As all political activity is against the civil service rules, what right have the women to go on the streets in any political parade either as a body or as individuals? Wherein is the difference? Under no circumstances should it be permitted. No body of Republicans, Democrats or any other political party would be permitted to do so who were under civil service rules. Then why should the Suffragists?

I have before me a "flyer," as they call it. It reads: "Congressional Union for Women Suffrage—Suffrage Procession—Washington, D. C., Saturday, May 9, 1914. To demand a United States Constitutional amendment enfranchising women——"

It seems incredible that any men or women working under civil service rules would dare march for such a purpose, or that they would be allowed to do so, either as individuals or as a body.

I have been informed that the same rules will work against the Anti-Suffragists as well as the Suffragists; that the District Anti-Suffrage Association has been deprived of the active assistance of some of its most useful members; but as they believe they should obey the spirit as well as the letter of the law, they have given up all work that can possibly come under the rules, as being in violation of such.

Mary Bringhurst Smith.

Socialist Organ Supports "Suffrage Allies"

(The following article appeared in *The Wheeling Majority*, a Wheeling, W. Va., publication, under date of issue, February 26, 1914.)

WASHINGTON, D. C., Feb. 27.—(Special.)—That the national woman suffrage movement is an active ally of the Socialist cause, and that the Congressional Union, encamped to-day in Washington to fight for the Federal amendment is sympathetically associated with the Socialist cause, have become increasingly evident during the last few weeks.

The Congressional Union, whose leaders, Alice Paul and Lucy Burns, have been in the militant British suffrage movement, employs workers who are ardent Socialists and who when the business of winning the vote is won will turn their energies into the Socialist political movement. This fact has been shown again and again. It was first apparent last March, when the Union invited a delegation of Socialists to parade up Pennsylvania Avenue in their great pageant. A leaflet, which is being largely circulated by Mrs. Dodge, the President of the Anti-Suffragists, contains a photograph of the Socialist section of the parade, of which Charles Edward Russell was marshal, and comments significantly as follows:

"Suddenly the scene changed. The yellow was gone, and in its place was red—red sashes, red banners, red hatbands, red dresses. The light gay music had died away, and there burst on the night air the solemn, stirring strains of the 'Marseillaise,' the famous revolutionary anthem. Men and women were marching past now, hundreds of them in close rank, with firm, steady tread, determination written on their grim, set faces. All was red, red, red, and as the writer gazed, stunned by the sudden, weird transformation, he saw displayed on their red banner the inscription, EVERY SOCIALIST IS A SUFFRAGIST. Socialists are behind woman suffrage, and if they should succeed in getting it, as the red suddenly flashed out in place of the yellow before the writer's eyes in the parade that November night, so will the Socialist republic and the co-operative commonwealth burst forth in the wake of woman suffrage."

It was under the auspices of the Congressional Union that George Lansbury, the Socialist member of Parliament, spoke when in Washington. It was also under the auspices of the Congressional Union that the big delegation of working girls was brought to Washington to interview President Wilson in order to smoke him out on woman suffrage. One of the leading girls to address Wilson was Rose Winslow, who is a Socialist. Charles Edward Russell spoke to the delegation at a reception.

One of the organizers for the Congressional Union stated to the writer that she and many of her co-workers were Socialists, but that they were not members of the party because they felt that they must officially join no other organization than the suffrage organization till they win the vote. The Antis know this and so do members of Congress. Hence their emphatic turndown by the reactionary caucus of the Democratic House.

The Congressional Union will undertake a strenuous campaign this summer against the Democratic Party as a party. It has abandoned the time-serving policy of the more conservative Suffragists, who, like the A. F. of L., give their support to individuals who are friendly and endeavor to defeat individuals who are unfriendly.

"We will hold the Democrats responsible," declared one of the Union's leaders recently, "and we will try to utilize the strength of the voting women of the country to put the Democratic Party out of business at the next election because of its attitude on woman suffrage."

The Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage is one of the most live and effective allies of the Socialist Party now actively working in the nation. Support it.

Virginia Defeats It

RICHMOND, VA., March 11.—The House of Delegates to-day rejected the woman suffrage bill by a vote of 74 to 13.

"Suffrage Dead For Years" In Kentucky

(*From the Boston Transcript*)

LEXINGTON, KY., March 13.—The Kentucky lower house of the General Assembly put itself on record as being absolutely opposed to granting the voting privilege to women by voting 51 to 29 to defeat an amendment to the State Constitution allowing women to vote. The Senate will now get the measure, but its defeat is certain there and women have given up the fight for the present.

The legislators were apparently tired of voting for measures backed by women, as they had patiently voted for a county unit prohibition measure and had passed a State-wide prohibition amendment to the Constitution. So when the suffrage bill was offered they proposed decisive amendments, made all manner of fun of it and then voted against it. The question is dead in Kentucky for at least two years, and it is not believed it will be revived for four years.

Anti-Suffragists Win All Three Debates

PRINCETON, Yale and Harvard met March 28th in their sixth annual triangular debate. The subject was, "Resolved, That the women of the United States should be given the suffrage on equal terms with men." Each institution was represented by an affirmative and a negative team, and the contests were held simultaneously in Princeton, New Haven and Cambridge, the home team in each case defending the negative position.

The debate ended in a victory for the anti-suffrage side in all three debates, Princeton defeating Yale at Princeton, Yale vanquishing Harvard at New Haven and Harvard winning from Princeton at Cambridge.

(*From the New York Sun*)

NEW HAVEN, March 30.—Members of the Yale debating team, which had the negative side of the suffrage question here against Harvard Friday night, decided tonight to decline the invitation of the New York State suffrage leaders to take part in a debate on suffrage and uphold the negative side of the question.

It became known here to-day that one member of the negative team received seventeen letters from suffrage agitators, among them being one which concluded thus: "You ought to be sent to jail for taking such a stand on the question."

Massachusetts May Vote On It Next Year

(*From the Chicago Tribune*)

BOSTON, MASS., March 26.—By action of the house to-day, the legislature has voted for the first time in its history in favor of referring to the people the question of granting suffrage to women.

The vote in the house was 168 to 39 on a resolution, which already had been favorably acted upon by the senate, providing for an amendment to the Constitution striking the word "male" from the qualifications for voters.

The measure must receive favorable action in the legislature next year before it may go to the people for a vote. Should it pass the next legislature the voters would have an opportunity to act on the woman suffrage question at the State election of 1915.

The Suffragists hailed to-day's action as a victory, while Anti-Suffragist leaders said that it had been taken with their tacit consent in order to allow the matter to go before the people.

Shall the Minority Decide For All Women?

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN'S PROTEST:

Last summer I met a woman along in her thirties, a wife and the mother of sons. Her good looks attracted attention first; later on I was not the only one who thought she was a well-developed woman in every way; as near the ideal of what a woman of her age ought to be as any member of her sex I had ever known.

After several conversations with her I asked her if she believed in votes for women. She did not. Her opinions were clear cut and definite. She could not add to her present responsibilities, unless she was convinced that it was her duty. She was not convinced that it was her duty to vote. And she feared that equal suffrage would hurt the home.

I kept quiet until I had drawn her out. Then I told her that I, too, was an Anti-Suffragist. After some further talk on the subject she invited me to speak to some of her friends at a parlor meeting. I replied that I was ready to do what I could to help check a movement that I felt sure would hurt women and do the State no good. But, I added, as I thought to myself that she was just the figure to personify our opposition: "You would make a much more effective speaker. You have observed, read and thought for yourself. You know what you think. So do I. We can both express ourselves in plain English. But you have advantages denied me." I went on to urge her to contribute herself; to do some active work as an Anti-Suffragist.

She answered that she did not feel able to stand up before people and talk. And that she could not pledge herself to do any active work as an Anti-Suffragist. As I looked at that fine creature and listened to her reasons it did not seem right to wish her to change her mind.

A woman of her quality gave me plenty to think about, as I added her to the large number of women who have told me that they don't want what the Suffragists demand for them. For over ten years I have put the question, "Do you want to vote?" to woman after woman, all sorts and conditions of my sex, and speaking from their answers it seems true that the great majority of women are not clamoring to go to the polls on election day. Some are indifferent, others have a feeling, a sentiment against political duties that they cannot express with precision. The number increases who can talk out and who see that women ought to organize and work to remain in their present political status. And many are very much like the one woman, who, I think, fairly represents them all. Like her they do not want to vote. They have a clear idea of their proper function in the economy. They are sure they have plenty of chance for all of their ability in their present sphere. And they have no time to be active Anti-Suffragists.

I meditate often on this class. They represent what is feminine in the best sense of the word. I walked home with one the other day from our Ward Branch of the Civic Club. She is a wife and a mother of young children. She, too, could state her reasons exactly why she did not believe in votes for women. But it was impossible for her to do any work in active opposition. She had not time for a little service at a temporary anti-suffrage office.

Does it make the anti-suffrage side stronger or weaker that such women are not with those of us who, if we don't march in processions, stand on street corners, commit deeds of violence to call attention to the fact that we *don't* want to vote, do attend meetings, face audiences, serve on committees, go to legislatures, write letters to papers?

It seems to more than one that anti-suffrage women who feel unable to take time or energy needed for their home duties to help in anti-suffrage organized work must count for a great deal, as they continue to lead their modest, quiet lives, minding their own business. Their work certainly tells in the family, in the city, in the nation.

But it seems to many thoughtful people that such women need protection. The small minority of women who are striving to change the political status of all women have lost their sense of fair play, if they ever had any. Men ought to realize that the Suffragists have no right to talk for all women. Men ought to take time to apply their minds carefully to the situation. Men ought to see that the Suffragists are a minority—and a small minority. And men ought to refuse to force on the great majority of women—a majority that includes the valuable class symbolized in one beautiful figure—duties they are not asking to have added to their present responsibilities.

A. F. B.

A Woman's Church

(Special Cable Despatch to the N. Y. Sun)

LIVERPOOL, March 13.—A number of women, including many Suffragettes, who are dissatisfied with man-conducted churches, have formed a women's church to be run by women. It will be called "The Church of the New Ideal."

All the preachers will be women. At some of the services women only will be admitted. Men will be allowed to be present at others.

Curing the Curse of Ages in a Day!

IT is evident that the writer of this letter knows little of the effect of the ballot on morals in woman suffrage States. It is education and the awakening of the public conscience that promote the morals and elevate the standards of the community and not the ballot. Conditions in States where women have voted for from five to forty years are sufficient evidence of our contributor's exaggerated prophecies.

Improvement is now slow, but sure. Even were suffrage universal to-day it would be two hundred years before any appreciable effect would be felt, if then.

We have received many anonymous letters, but none that reveals better how the suffrage microbe works in some brains.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE PROTEST:

To-night when out doing a little shopping I met a lot of half-grown boys on a corner whistling to every girl, and even to women that passed by, and not one of them was over eighteen years of age and everyone a depraved degenerate, and many of them undoubtedly filled to the neck with loathsome and infectious disease, and probably 50 per cent. of our young men, the future fathers of the race, are doing the same thing because their mothers' teaching has become impotent when they have found out that their mothers and all other women are by law classed as inferior and unfit.

The curse of humanity since the world began has been the double standard of morality for men, which never can be stopped until the laws no longer declare women inferior and unfit, which they do now and will continue to do until women have exactly the same rights that men have in making the laws that govern themselves and their children.

The man who says that he is opposed to female suffrage because he thinks that it would be an injury to women is an unmitigated humbug, and the man who says that he believes in male suffrage and not in female suffrage is an unmitigated ass. I would like to ask him how long after women vote he thinks that three billions of dollars will be annually expended for implements of murder and to teach men to become assassins? Not one year. And I would like to ask him how long after women vote he thinks the street corners will be infested with hoodlums insulting every little girl that passes by with their vile remarks? Not one month. And I would like to ask him how long after women vote he thinks the double standard of morality would last? Not one day; and the civilization would go forward with giant strides toward the millennium.

Yours very truly,

J. J. J.

REPORTS ON THE WORK OF STATE ASSOCIATIONS

CONNECTICUT

MRS. D. A. MARKHAM, PRESIDENT

THE annual meeting was held on January 27. Of the thirty-six Chairmen of Branches, thirty-two came to the meeting in spite of a rainy day. After a luncheon they went to Unity Hall for the meeting; 250 copies of the "Letter to Clergymen" have been sent out. The week after the Roman Catholic Bishop gave a wonderful sermon, Bishop Brewster spoke about sex antagonism and Mr. Potter, who has been a suffragist, in a meeting at the Y. M. C. A. denounced the new aspect of the suffragists.

Letters of thanks have been sent to the Members of Congress who voted for us. Norwich recently organized with a large membership, makes the present number of the State enrollment over 11,000. Mrs. Wm. H. Taft has joined the New Haven Branch.

MARYLAND

MRS. ROBERT GARRETT, PRESIDENT

THE Maryland Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage has an office on the ground floor in the downtown business section of the town, and has since the first of January done a great deal of publicity work. Hundreds of people have called at this office for information, literature and buttons. A number of young people have been supplied with material for debates in high schools, colleges, clubs and fraternities, while inquiries have come into the office from all over the State for literature for the same purpose, which has been promptly sent. The membership has increased encouragingly during the three months.

A meeting was held in Annapolis on January 29, at which Mrs. Francis T. Redwood, Mrs. W. P. Wyse and Mrs. M. C. Talbot, the Secretary, spoke. Several new members signed and a branch association will be started there.

On February 10th a public hearing before both houses of the Legislature was held in the Hall of the House of Delegates, which was attended by a large audience. Mr. Chas. L. Underhill of Boston made a splendid address. Mrs. Francis T. Redwood, Vice-President, presided and made a brief introductry speech. Miss Abell of New York spoke from the viewpoint of a working woman and Mr. Horace Whitman of Baltimore told of the laws in Maryland for the protection of women and children which had been in existence for years and were constantly being improved and added to as the demand arose in present conditions.

A well-attended meeting was held in Hagerstown on March 5th in the parlor of the Hamilton Hotel. Mrs. F. T. Redwood, Mrs. W. P. E. Wyse and Mrs. M. C. Talbot addressed the meeting. Several names were added to the enrollment.

Just now the Association is taking active part in a protest against an amendment to the child labor law which is in the legislature now, asking that children of ten years be legalized to work in the canneries in the counties. The age limit is now 12. A delegate from the Association spoke at a hearing before the committee on March 17th and the Association will be represented at any further hearings or meetings to prevent, if possible, this amendment being passed.

The suffrage amendment, asking that the question of enfranchising the women of Maryland go to the voters to decide, has been defeated in this session of the Legislature. The annual meeting of the Association was held on March 30th at the office in The Garrett Building.

MASSACHUSETTS

MRS. JAMES M. CODMAN, PRESIDENT

THE Presidents of the Associations of the New England States are to meet in Boston on the 22d of April. During the last three months there have been sixty-one meetings, 23 of which were in February. The Association has gained in this time 2078 new members, which brings the State membership to 24,000. There are eighty-six branches and five more will be formed this month. Meetings will be arranged soon in the western part of the State. A shop will be opened in Milk Street, Boston, on the first of April for two months. Easter eggs, ribbon and literature will be sold. A shop of this kind was opened for a time in Boylston Street. The Junior League has held meetings and given a very successful play. Meetings have been held with great success in several of the large department stores. About 150 girls joined the Association on the spot. They are not allowed to wear their buttons in the shop. At Filene's the girls invited the speaker to dine with them.

MINNESOTA

MINNEAPOLIS COMMITTEE

(Formed for Organization in Minneapolis and Nearby Cities)

Mrs. J. Gilfillan, Mrs. John Crosley, Mrs. W. D. Washburn, Mrs. Wm. H. Lee, Mrs. G. P. Douglas, Mrs. C. C. Webber, Mrs. John S. Pillsbury, Mrs. F. M. Prince, Mrs. Allan Ramsey, Mrs. Chas. Williard, Mrs. P. L. Howe, Mrs. G. H. Christian, Mrs. G. C. Christian, Mrs. W. S. Dwinnell.

NEBRASKA—OMAHA BRANCH

THIS organization was formed by Mrs. A. M. Dodge and Miss Minnie Bronson while on their western trip in February.

Temporary Chairman, Mrs. Edward Porter Peck; First Vice-President, Mrs. Arthur Crittenden Smith; Second Vice-President, Mrs. L. F. Crofoot; Secretary, Mrs. Wm. Archibald Smith; Treasurer, Mrs. Frank Hoel, Executive Committee, Mrs. Henry W. Yates, Mrs. John C. Cowin, Mrs. J. W. Griffith, Mrs. W. H. Koenig, Mrs. Gerrit Fort, Mrs. John L. Webster, Mrs. Helen Arion Lewis, Mrs. T. J. Mackay, Mrs. F. N. Connor, Miss Janette Wallace. Mrs. M. C. Crumpacker doing organization work in State.

NEW JERSEY

MRS. A. F. JAMISON, ACTING PRESIDENT

THE annual meeting is to be held on May 2d. The Elizabeth Branch of the New Jersey Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage arranged a meeting which was held in the hall of the Y. M. C. A. February 27th, to which members of all the women's clubs of Elizabeth and vicinity were invited. Miss H. O. Magie, Second Vice-President, presided and introduced the speaker, Mrs. Frank J. Goodwin. Literature was distributed and sold at the door and many enrollment slips were signed.

Miss Lucy Price and Hon. John A. Mathews spoke at a large evening meeting in Montclair on March 26th.

Mrs. Garrett A. Hobart, widow of former Vice-President Hobart, was the hostess at an enthusiastic gathering in opposition to woman suffrage, held at her home, in Paterson, N. J., on the afternoon of March 25th. A Paterson branch of the New Jersey Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage was organized by Mrs. Jamison, the State organizer, on this occasion. Mrs. Carl Roebling was the speaker of the day, her subject being "Motherhood and Christianity." About 100 women were present. Mrs. Thomas Graham was elected chairman, Mrs. C. R. Smith, secretary; Mrs. Turner, treasurer, and Mrs. Garrett A. Hobart and Mrs. McCarter vice-chairmen.

REPORTS ON THE WORK OF STATE ASSOCIATIONS

NEW YORK

MISS ALICE HILL CHITTENDEN, PRESIDENT

The New York State Association has been deluged with requests for speakers for all kinds of meetings during the past three months, and participated in fifty meetings in various sections of the State from January 1st to April 1st.

Some of these meetings were held under the Association's own auspices and arranged for by its Meetings Committee, but the majority have been arranged by other organizations, societies and clubs from which the requests have come for speakers. In some instances the suffrage side was also presented, while in other cases only the anti-suffrage side was heard.

Thirty-one of these meetings have been held in Greater New York: 7 in Rochester, 3 in Buffalo, 2 in Albany, 2 in Troy, 1 in Yonkers, 1 on Long Island, 1 at Lakeport, 1 at Batavia, 1 at East Aurora.

Six of these meetings were under the auspices of men's clubs.

Two before women's clubs.

One a debate in a settlement.

One a debate at the Labor Temple.

Two at girls' schools.

One at the Normal College.

One at a philosophical society.

Two before girls' clubs in churches.

One at a church Civic Forum (Buffalo).

One before a grange (Troy).

The other meetings were in houses and in large or small halls. Nearly all have been exceedingly well attended.

There were three meetings scheduled for one evening in March, and it is not unusual to have two meetings fall on the same evening. It is no small task to find the speakers for these meetings and to adjust and arrange the dates.

Eight classes have also been held at the home of Mrs. Benjamin Nicoll on successive Thursday afternoons and there have been three members meetings at the office.

Seventeen meetings are already scheduled for April in Greater New York alone, but during the last week in the month an annex will be opened, where there will be speaking every night There are also to be meetings in Rochester, Troy, Albany, Cazenovia and Goshen during April.

The New York State Association is certainly recognized as being a very strong opposing force to woman suffrage, and it is now a duty to accept every opportunity to present the arguments of this Association to every audience that can be reached.

OHIO

THE CINCINNATI AND HAMILTON COUNTY ASSOCIATION

Executive Board—Honorary President, Mrs. Longworth; President, Mrs. W. Austin Goodman; Vice-Presidents, Mrs. Lawrence Maxwell, Jr., Mrs. David Workum, Mrs. W. W. Clippinger, Mrs. Henry C. Yergason, Mrs. Charles H. Kellogg, Mrs. Bellamy Storer, Mrs. D. B. Meacham, Mrs. Mortimer Matthews, Mrs. H. Langdon Laws; Treasurer, Mrs. Frank D. Jamison; Secretary, Mrs. Louis T. More; Chairmen of Standing Committees, Mrs. J. Walter Freiberg, Miss Ruth Harrison, Mrs. P. H. Kemble, Miss Fanny Field, Miss Annie L. Roelker, Mrs. Christian R. Holmes, Mrs. Joseph Wilby; Advisory Board, Mrs. Larz Anderson, Mrs. Jessie E. Baldwin, Professor B. B. Breese, Mr. A. H. Chatfield, Mr. Jesse R. Clark, Mr. Tylor Field, Mrs. Charles Fleischmann, Hon. J. B. Foraker, Mr. Maurice J. Freiberg, Miss Mary Hanna, Mr. John R. Holmes, Mr. P. Lincoln Mitchell, Mrs. Richard H. Mitchell, Professor Louis T. More, Mr. A. C. Neave, Mrs. Frank H. Nelson, Rabbi D. Philipson, Mr. W. Cooper Procter, Mr. J. G. Schmidlapp, Mr. A. Clifford Shinkle, Mr. W. F. Wiley, Mr. Charles E. Wilson; Business Secretary, Mrs. Florence Goff Schwarz.

PENNSYLVANIA

MRS. HORACE BROCK, PRESIDENT

AN office has been opened downtown, which has created much interest. There are many encouraging signs for our side. At the Industrial Exhibit Mrs. Oliphant spoke for forty minutes to a large number and 150 signatures were obtained at once. There have been several debates at the University Extension. On the 21st of April there will be a large meeting at the Bellevue-Stratford, at which Mr. Matthews will speak. On April 30th there will be a convention at Harrisburg, which will bring the question conspicuously before the people all over the State which is so large to cover. Miss Pitt reports a strong opposition among the labor unions. The convention is to last all day and it is hoped that as many members of the different State Associations as possible will attend.

For information as to trains and accommodations for those wishing to spend the night write to No. 261 South 15th Street, Philadelphia.

The *Philadelphia Press* recently sent out post cards asking for a vote on the question. The report so far shows 345 opposed to 250 in favor of suffrage.

PITTSBURGH ASSOCIATION

President, Miss Julia Morgan Harding; Vice-Presidents, Mrs. James H. Rud, Mrs. John B. Heron, Mrs. George C. Burgwin, Mrs. Harmer D. Denny, Mrs. William J. Holland, Mrs. Milton Williams; Recording Secretary, Mrs. H. Allan Machesney; Corresponding Secretary, Mrs. Winslow Crannell; Treasurer, Mrs. John Woodwell; Registrar, Miss Eliza D. Armstrong; Directors, Mrs. Abert H. Childs, Mrs. William H. Rea, Miss Mary L. Jackson, Mrs. William A. Hoevler, Mrs. Edwin Ohl, Mrs. W. Harry Brown, Mrs. D. Herbert Hostetter, Mrs. Joseph H. Moore, Mrs. Daniel M. Clemson, Mrs. Edward B. Scull, Mrs. Charles Arbuthnot, Mrs. B. K. McMechen, Mrs. W. W. Blackburn.

The Pittsburgh Conservationist, published in the interest of Conservation of the Home and Opposed to Woman Suffrage, is to present its third number on April 15th. The various departments are under the editorship of Miss Eliza D. Armstrong, Anti-Suffrage Work; Mrs. Winslow Crannell, The Home and Politics; Mrs. Mary Finney McCullough, Music and Society, and Miss M. Emmilinne Pitt, Managing Editor.

Published at Suite No. 36, Conestoga Building, Pittsburgh, Pa., subscription 50 cents a year.

RHODE ISLAND

MRS. ROLAND G. HAZARD, PRESIDENT

THE Rhode Island Association reports an increase of 1600 new names, a few of these men, taken in the ten days of the Domestic Science Food Fair. Hundreds more of the women whom we talked with declared their opposition to suffrage. The testimony was overwhelming that the home-keeping women of Rhode Island do not desire the ballot.

The Committee on Judiciary, to whom the suffrage bill was referred in the Assembly this year, voted unfavorably on reporting it—5 to 2 against.

"Only Beginners"

THE latest plea of the suffragists when confronted with their failures to make good their promises of reform is that they are only beginners. They talk about "way stations" and "stepping stones" and conscientious study of "big questions." Well, that is all very well, but we don't want to be practised on by amateurs. And, furthermore, we believe that amateurs are generally easy prey for experts, even though an exceptional amateur may occasionally carry off a championship. Men are some hundreds of years ahead of women in political knowledge and political experience. They had the natural aptitude and they have had the practise and opportunity. Do women for one instant believe that any political power put into their hands as the answer to a demand would ever be more than the most utter farce? An instance of how easily deluded women are politically was seen in the disappointment of the suffragists in England over the introduction of the manhood suffrage bill. They had their eyes glued to the one small issue. They really believed that they had rounded up the government into an impasse. But the way out was, after all, simpler to the broader trained political mind. If the franchise needed extension, it was obvious that it should first be extended to all men before it could possibly be extended to all women. The suffragists had, therefore, dug their own grave when they declined to be satisfied with a limited suffrage, and what they did then, they will do again. We will see them again and again tripped up on their own bunkers.

Men have been in political training for hundreds of years, yet these naive females really imagine that if only they had the vote they could do exactly as they liked. There are honorable men in politics who would not deceive and play women voters for dishonest motives, but who would, nevertheless, know how to put them aside as Asquith, the candid enemy of suffrage, did. But there are dishonest men who would have no more scruple in manipulating women's votes than in manipulating those of the immigrant or illiterate. Chivalry having been dealt its death blow, there is no hope in any protection to be accorded the sex. Who would be authorized to do this? Thus the women voters at the "way stations" stand a fair chance of seeing the express train go by with only men or men's tools on board. Perhaps in fifteen hundred years or so women might be experts at the game, but what will men have been doing in the interval? Abolished voting perhaps and established autocracy.

J. T. W.

Invective and Sanity

(Part of a letter to the "New Witness"):

"I have often been very indignant at what has been said and written of the suffragettes, because one hates to have earnest women criticized by any but wise and generous men, but I have never been able to be properly shocked by hearing them called unsexed; because to call a suffragette unsexed is obviously ridiculous, when it is she who has thrust her sex into every question of the day, in and out of season, so that every other woman feels perfectly swamped in sex and sex questions, and cannot take up a paper or a book without seeing herself on the dissecting table.

"As far as invective goes, some strong phrases have been used by the feminists against the rest of the women, which have implied something worse than being unsexed because they have implied treachery.

"The whole question is full of a deep pathos and irony, for while this woman crusade is upheld in its aims by a sacrificial love of sex amounting in some to real heroism, in as much as they will even die to lay this world-rocking benefit at the feet of their selfish and unthinking sisters—at the same moment every ordinary woman with her life full of responsibility and her love concentrated in a smaller sphere is squaring her shoulders to keep the balance of women's sanity.

"I am,
"Yours truly,
"MABEL ELVEN."

STUDY classes, for both sides of the suffrage question, have been successfully carried on in several states. Massachusetts has had such a class for two years, with increasing interest and attendance at each meeting. New Jersey took it up in its Morristown branch last summer and several of the other branches of that State have plans completed for the spring and summer.

A class of eight lessons was arranged for in February to be held in New York City. It has been largely attended and similar classes are already being planned for in the New York State auxiliaries.

Information and outlines for these classes may be had on application.

The Kentucky lower house of the General Assembly has put itself on record as opposed to granting the voting privilege to women by voting 51 to 29 to defeat an amendment to the State Constitution allowing women to vote.

New York Activities

THE New York State Association is preparing for a large luncheon at the Hotel Biltmore on April 15th. Mr. Edward Sanford Martin, one of the editors of *Life*, will be the principal speaker on this occasion.

A series of lectures was arranged early in the year. The first two, Miss Tarbell's, on "The Business of Being a Woman," and Professor Jenks', on "Immigration," were given in March, and Professor William H. Taft will give the third on April 21st, on "Signs of the Times."

"The Menace of Feminism," was presented on the afternoon of April 2d at the York Club, 52 East Fifty-fourth Street, Manhattan, by Mrs. Henry M. Burton of Rochester. It is allowed that Feminism has also a message and a meaning, and these were incorporated in Mrs. Burton's talk.

Mrs. Burton is well known to the women of the State Federation of Women's Clubs, and her home in Rochester has been the rendezvous of educators and visiting alumni for many years.

The patronesses for Mrs. Burton's meeting were Mrs. Fritz Achelis, Mrs. K. B. Lapham, Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge, Miss Alice Hill Chittenden, Mrs. Francis M. Scott, Mrs. Gustaf Stromberg.

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Owners, The National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage.

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None.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 9th day of April, 1914.

F. JOHNSON,
Notary Public No. 1839,
[SEAL.] New York County.
(My commission expires March 30, 1916.)

NOTES AND COMMENT

It requires no excessive credulity to believe the statement that the senators from the States where the women are already voting "stood by them nobly."

But how many of those chivalrous senators voted for woman's suffrage only when a careful poll had disclosed that it would be beaten?

(*From Boston Transcript*)

Dr. Anna Shaw wants an independence day for women. What, aren't 365 of 'em enough?

Norman Hapgood says that the magazines are being dragged down by idle women. What a lot of feminine loafers must be on the subscription list of *Harper's Weekly* now.

(*From the Providence Journal*)

Even the worm will turn. When a militant Suffragette attacked the prison commissioner for Scotland with a dog whip the gentleman forgot himself and laid the lady low with a slap.

(*From the Philadelphia Public Ledger*)

Those who criticized Mr. Kipling for "The Female of the Species," realizing that he was in England when he wrote it, are inclined to retract on the ground of extenuating circumstances.

(*From the Springfield Union*)

Now that Miss Jane Addams has admitted that she does not feel competent to be Chicago's mayor it is to be feared that she will lose the confidence and esteem of many of the more ardent and enthusiastic Suffragists, who hold that any woman is competent to fill any office or position now held by a mere man.

"General" Rosalie Jones, who led the suffrage "hike" to Albany, N. Y., debated the question of suffrage at Troy, N. Y., recently against Mrs. Grace Duffield Goodwin, the well-known anti-suffrage writer. The local papers say that the "General" was no match for her opponents, and the debate was awarded to the Anti-Suffragists.

"Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, M.P., at Cardiff last night said if he could get votes for women by turning the Government out he would be prepared to do so to-morrow, but they knew that would not be the result of defeating the Government."—*Daily Mail,*

The *Boston Herald* of March 22d says: "A new movement which is declared to be the first of its kind in the history of civilization is being started in Boston. It is designed ultimately to place complete control of civic affairs in the hands of women, leaving business—money-getting—in the hands of men. The movement will be formally launched on March 27th in Everett by Dr. Charles Fleischer." The movement is said to be backed by Miss Jane Addams and others. It is planned to organize these classes in every city and town. This is the "new matriarchate" of the feminists with a vengeance. Let us hope that mere man will be grateful that he is still, for a time, to be allowed to be the money-maker! Ultimately he is to be done away with altogether.

At the men's suffrage rally in Boston on March 20th a speaker said: "The Antis have no case, but they set people to thinking and will help us to win in the end." It didn't work out just that way in Michigan. The Suffragists had been working for years in that State, which is the "proud" birthplace of both the Rev. Anna Shaw and of Miss Zelie Emerson (whom England is threatening to deport as an undesirable alien because of her militant outrages), and had a strong organization. The question of woman suffrage was submitted to the people in November, 1912, and came within 761 votes of passing. Victory seemed so near that the Suffragists got the question submitted again in the following April. But during that short interval the Antis appeared on the scene in a short but vigorous campaign, and the majority against suffrage was changed from 761 to 96,144! The Antis had, indeed, set people to thinking!

(*London Daily Mail, March 18th*)

Mr. McKenna stated in yesterday's Parliamentary papers that the authorities responsible for the protection of the works of art in the public galleries from "the wanton attacks of feeble-minded and other mentally-deranged persons" are considering, in consultation with the police, the steps which they should take.

The Home Secretary also stated that he gave no directions for the rearrest of Mrs. Pankhurst at Glasgow. "It was by law the duty of the police to arrest Mrs. Pankhurst, who was a prisoner convicted of felony and illegally at large."

One of the three Suffragette prisoners now being artificially fed *has insisted on taking nourishment in this way* since January 8th and offers no resistance.

The *Salt Lake City Herald* of Utah, where women have had the vote since 1896, in a recent editorial headed, "Ballot Ineffective," says: "Eastern champions of woman suffrage repose an undue confidence in the potency of the ballot. It is not the mighty weapon they suppose it nor the infallible remedy for industrial ills they seem to believe. Did its use endow its possessors with a tithe of the supposed authority, the men of America would long since have established the social justice and the industrial democracy so highly desired and so greatly lacking."

In a recent magazine an article by George Creel was published which has created a great deal of comment, because, although it is stated that he uses no arguments but simply states facts regarding the things accomplished in woman suffrage States, the title, "What Have Women Done Where They Vote?" infers that all good results were due to the votes of women. The fact that men also voted in those States is ignored. Some of the so-called "facts" are decidedly questioned in a pamphlet issued by the Massachusetts Association Opposed to the Further Extension of Suffrage to Women, copies of which can be obtained from the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage. We advise our readers to secure this pamphlet. It is interesting, convincing and authoritative. Price, 5c. a single copy; 50c. a dozen.

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This advertisement indicates the spread of the feminist "insurrection." Are Walt Whitman's "dear, dumb beasts" seeking to "break into the human race"?

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FOUNDED 1895

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Women and The Vote *Everett P. Wheeler*
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BOOKS RECOMMENDED FOR READING

On Suffrage (0.5) *C. K. Chesterton*
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Anti-Suffrage Calendar for 1911, with many interesting quotations. These can be obtained by applying to

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